ADULT EDUCATION

The Community Approach

6

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PREFACE

THERE ARE INDEED FEW among us who in these times and in the broader meaning of the phrase do not at some period in our lives become a part of the adult-education movement. Our stake may be that of the full-time professional administrator, staff member, or teacher. Or, on the other hand, we may participate in the movement only as a sideline activity—as program chairman of the PTA, as student in a course on interior decoration, or as a member of a community group seeking to bring about some kind of change by educational means. However firm or tenuous the individual citizen's attachment to adult education may be, the assumption behind the preparation of this book is that adult education has been and must continue to be a people's movement, with its major focus in the local community and with its primary goal that of strengthening and improving the democratic processes of group problem-solving. Thus, although adult education is not identical with social action, and although much of it is concerned with the satisfaction of individual needs, the processes through which reasoned social change is brought about must occupy a prominent place in a movement on which the preservation of a free society depends.

Accordingly, as the authors of this volume, we make no pretense of philosophical agnosticism in these pages. In fact, a book on adult education without some bias could easily degenerate into a meaningless collection of descriptive material on topics ranging from needlework to atomic energy. We acknowledge proudly and with some fervor our bias—our value judgments in behalf of the kind of adult education that will increase and improve citizen participation in decision-making, that will lead to the enrichment of community living, that will release the full power of a society rooted in respect for human dignity and the sanctity of human personality. Both our own contributions to this book and the selections from other sources have been made with these values in view.

Part I of this book outlines some of the characteristics of our present system of adult education and suggests the social imperatives that seem to us to dictate the kind of assumptions just stated. Parts II and III present descriptive facts about present programs and problems of some of the major agencies in the field and explore the ways that have been developed for getting the job done. The chapters in these two sections should be read within the philosophical framework outlined in Part I and again in Part IV, which presents an overview of where adult education is and where it might be going.

In brief, we hope that the logic behind the organization of this book is con-

sistent with the philosophy of adult education to which we subscribe. Parts II and III identify the major areas of present activity and some of the problems with which practitioners in the field are concerned. At this time, the adult-education movement is the focal point for a wide variety of social pressures which in one way or another will influence the direction and flow of the movement in the years ahead. Parts I and IV identify some of these pressures and in effect invite the reader to make his own "force field" analysis as a helpful prelude to a more active role as a professional or lay member of the movement.

In this connection it is only fair to the reader that we should disclaim any assumption of omniscience or supernatural insight as a basis for the point of view expressed here. We, like our readers, are the products of unique combinations of inherited qualities, training, and experience, and we are limited in our outlook by these. Even if the expression of these views has the effect of disturbing some of the readers of this book, the net result, we hope, may be new learning as the equilibrium of the reader is restored by the operation of his own mental processes.

A further word about the selection of the quoted materials included may be in order. It has been our joint experience as trainers in adult education over the past fifteen or twenty years that one of the major obstacles to wider utilization of knowledge about adult education is the absence in readily available form of source materials which can add much to our common experience and our professional growth. This is, no doubt, one of the to-be-expected weaknesses of a new and rapidly growing movement.

One of the unanticipated results of this effort to gather in one volume selections from the variegated literature of adult education has been a perception of vitality and drive which seem to characterize it. In spite of its newness, its variety, its lack of professional tradition, and the absence of channels for cross-communication, the adult-education movement in the United States has generated power and strength to which the many voices raised in this book attest more vigorously and more conclusively than could the words of the authors alone. We who have worked with these materials during the past two years have sensed the force of the impact which this joint testimony has produced upon us. We sincerely hope that some of this same weight of evidence will be communicated to our readers.

In any event, without attempting to be encyclopedic, we have selected from mimeographed bulletins, widely scattered periodical sources, unpublished reports, doctoral and master's theses, yes, even letters and seminar papers, those items which seemed to us to document and spell out most lucidly the central assumptions which we have made. On the whole, these materials have been produced in the period since the World War II and extend the work done earlier by Mary Ely in *Adult Education for Action* and by Ralph Beals and Leon Brody in *The Literature of Adult Education*.

Even within this limited period, the rate of growth and production of new materials has been so rapid that some materials will seem to be dated and time-

worn. Perhaps we should suggest to the reader that these selections—and, in fact, the entire volume—can be read most usefully if they are considered as a beginning rather than the final word—a beginning limited to what can be encompassed in one volume of 600 pages. The responsibility for lifelong professional learning like other kinds of continuing self-education rests with the individual. He who wishes to round out and continue the beginning made here must himself elect to delve more deeply into the rich stores of source material which our brief excerpts identify, and associate himself with those national bodies, such as the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., which are devoted to aiding in the professional growth and development of their members.

The preparation of this book has been from start to finish a cooperative process, with many elements of problem-solving but with the reward of rich satisfactions and personal growth flowing from shared experience and responsibility. Although each of us took individual responsibility for preparing first drafts of specific chapters, the structure of each chapter and kinds of source material to be included were discussed by all. First drafts were reworked after face-to-face discussion, and in most instances it became impossible to identify authorship of the completed text except in terms of team responsibility.

The process of preparation has been cooperative in ways other than by author collaboration. Our wives and families have wondered at times, mostly in silence, whether even a book in adult education was worth missed vacations, antisocial behavior, and abandonment of the father role for extended periods. They richly merit this expression of our familial thanks and devotion.

To our colleagues in adult education and in allied fields from whose writings and shared thinking we have borrowed extensively we express our grateful appreciation. In the case of copyrighted material, permission to reprint has been granted most generously by the publishers identified by name in the bibliography. For aid in the preparation of the manuscript we are indebted to Lois Smith and Lee Jex, University of California Extension, Marjorie Moine, Nancy McIntyre, and Ruth Jayne, University of Wyoming, and Dorothy Haniotis and Joyce Grawunder, Teachers College.

Finally, to our publishers, themselves successful practitioners in the field about which we write, we express our thanks for editorial and professional consultant help which strengthened the writing team immeasurably. Our fondest hope is that this product of mutual aid will in turn undergird the processes of group collaboration in the profession for which it has been prepared.

P. H. S.
C. D. J.
R. B. S.

April 1, 1953

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PART ONE

Scope and Purpose

In order to understand and utilize the resources of the adult education movement, the worker in adult education needs to have several kinds of information. He needs to know something of the agencies provided to meet the educational needs of adults and of groups. This kind of information is given in Part II of this volume. He needs to know something about techniques of carrying on adult-education programs which are common concerns of all agencies. These matters of operational procedure are discussed in Part III. In addition to knowledge of agencies and techniques for getting things done, however, it is important that the worker in adult education have a frame of reference—some set of values and priorities which he has built for himself from a study of the society in which he functions. Part I deals with such a framework.

The authors have not attempted in this part to provide an exhaustive analysis of the contemporary social scene from a totally objective point of view. Instead they have sought to document their own conception of those factors in American life which make adult education a necessity if our democratic progress is to continue (Chap. 2) and which give some clues as to the priorities and directions which should be established (Chap. 3).

The final chapter in Part I brings together a description of some sample adult-education programs. Here, in more concrete form, the reader will find illustrated some of the attempts being made to meet social problems, such as those discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

AN OVERVIEW

1

WHAT ARE THE SCOPE AND RANGE of activities in which adults engage as part of this lifelong learning process called adult education? No one book could possibly encompass all of the activities which might be and are being labeled as adult education in the United States. The process goes on *through* the media of radio, motion pictures, press, and classroom; *for* farmers, parents, businessmen, workers, and housewives; *in* schools, libraries, museums, settlement houses, and public auditoriums; *with* programs ranging from social dancing to Sanskrit and services ranging from child-care training to old-age counseling. Quantitatively, at least, the American effort is unequaled in any other part of the world. Qualitatively, much remains to be done by way of improving both the facilities and the procedures for adult learning. Some of these areas of current concern will be referred to in subsequent chapters.

All data recently available point to the fact that in the United States more adults than ever before are participating in adult-education activities. National, state, and local surveys indicate that an estimated 40 million adults want more education. This figure is larger than the total of children and youth currently enrolled in schools of all kinds. In the state of California, approximately one tenth of the total population of the state is currently participating in adult-education programs sponsored by the adult schools of the state. Surveys in specific communities in California and elsewhere indicate that one third to one half of the

adults in the communities studied are participating in some group activity of an educational or recreational nature.

Actual enrollment statistics indicating the number of individuals participating in various types of adult-education activities are very difficult to obtain. Many of the organizations which sponsor adult-education programs have no national accounting system, and for such activities as educational broadcasting it is impossible to get an accurate estimate of the number of people reached.

After calling attention to these difficulties, Paul Essert[1] presents some statistical material indicating the estimated enrollment in a number of adult education activities. These estimates for 1950 were as follows:

Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service	7,000,000
Commercial, College and School Radio and Television	6,000,000
Public-school Adult-education Programs	3,000,000
University and College Extension Services	500,000
Private Correspondence Schools	1,000,000
Armed Forces Educational Program	250,000
Library Adult Education	1,500,000
Others	10,000,000
	29,250,000

In the last classification above, "others," as explained by Essert, includes such activities as alumni education; forums; lyceums and chautauquas; parent education; prison education; training leaders; vocational rehabilitation services of federal, state and local governments; vocational education and guidance (adult); and workers' education. It includes educational programs offered by museums; community councils; organizations for the foreign-born; men's and women's clubs; religious groups; and settlements and corporations.

In spite of the number of adults involved in educational activities, not much is known of the extent to which this process of education, begun in the earlier years under public auspices, continues throughout the life span of many of our people. One explanation for this state of affairs lies in the fact that adult education as an organized movement in the United States is of comparatively recent origin. It was not until 1926 that the American Association for Adult Education was organized. Shortly before the formation of this national body, a Department of Immigrant Education had been set up in the National Education Association to help in the planning and development of adult-education programs for the foreignborn. In those earlier days, the primary concern of most professional workers in adult education was with literacy education and classes for those large groups of foreignborn, especially in the urban areas of the country, who had recently come to this land and found it necessary to equip themselves through such classes for the responsibilities of becoming citizens of the United States.

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about thirty years does not mean, of course, that adult-education activities were not going on long before that date. It does mean that, as life in the United States became more complicated, as the rate of change accelerated in our culture, it was no longer possible to rely exclusively upon the home, the church, or the printed word as instruments for self-enlightenment and self-education. From the earliest days of this country's history, its leaders generally recognized continuing education as a necessary element in the preservation of democratic institutions. George Washington said, "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." Abraham Lincoln stated it in somewhat different words: "I view education as the most important subject which we as a people are engaged in . . . by which we may duly appreciate the value of our free institutions."

In the more recent history of the United States, the names of Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt can be used as official documentation of this American commitment to the importance of adult education. President Wilson said, "The whole purpose of democracy is that we may hold counsel with one another so as not to depend upon the understanding of one man but to depend upon the common counsel of all." President Hoover warned that "self-government can succeed only through an instructed electorate." And President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose administration saw a particularly large expansion of adult-education opportunities, pointed out that "the only way in which that representative form of government can persist is through an educated electorate. We need to have meeting places for the discussion of public questions in the cities, hamlets, and on the farms throughout the length and breadth of the land."

The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader a general overview of adult education as it exists in the United States today. Few, if any, who support democratic ideals will take issue with the emphasis placed on the necessity for lifelong learning. Adult education in the United States at midcentury, however, is not a noncontroversial area. Since by its very nature it is closely bound to all the problems of the culture within which it functions, it is natural that it should reflect the stresses and strains, the hopes and fears, and the conflicting points of view found within that culture. An overview of adult education today must not only call attention to what now exists but it must also be concerned with ideas expressed as to the use to be made of that which exists. The adult-education movement should be thought of as a means to an end. In general, we are agreed that a happy, prosperous, peaceful people living within the framework of democratic ideals is the end we are seeking in this country. Most differences of opinion center about how to make best use of the "means" (adult education) to reach this end.

In this volume the authors develop a definite point of view. They have selected references which, on the whole, support their own views as to how adult educa-

tion can be made the most effective tool for bringing about desired social change. The remainder of this chapter, however, is an attempt to bring together some of the conflicting points of view mentioned above. Only by considering them can one hope to obtain an accurate "overview" of adult education today.

It is in the area of "purpose" or "objectives" that differences in point of view or of emphasis are perhaps fundamental, for many differences concerning content and method have their origin here. In the selections which follow immediately, we shall examine without intervening comment, two broad statements of purpose from operating adult-education agencies. The first is taken from the *Handbook on Adult Education in California*,[2] prepared by the California State Department of Education.*

Adult education embraces the learning achieved by adults during their mature years. It is new learning, not merely a continuation of learning. The major purposes of adult education are, first, to make adults in the community aware of individual and community needs, and second, to give such education as will enable them to meet problems that exist now. Adult education stems directly from the people. The curriculum is based on present needs and problems.

Education for the solution of problems in a democratic society includes training in the total range of human learning, from the learning of the simple means of communication, reading and writing, to the actual solution of the most complicated problems of human relations. The philosophy of adult education has grown out of a long historical experience. In examples of historical development, the basic motive of activities of programs of adult education is the unification of the people, the increase of their efficiency and the solidarity, and the elevation of their social purpose.

Adult education tends to give the understanding and skills that promote effective democratic living to those who have the responsibility now of solving the problems of democratic society. Adult education also develops and enriches their lives and the community in which they live. Such a program can be a major factor in the better adjustment of personal, social and economic needs and obligations. More specifically stated, the objectives of adult education are the following:

1. To make adults aware of their civic responsibilities to one another and to the community, the nation, and the world
2. To make them economically more efficient
3. To develop a sense of responsibility and a knowledge of how to proceed in making personal adjustments to home life and family relationships
4. To promote health and physical fitness
5. To provide the means for encouraging cultural development and an appreciation of the arts

* Throughout this book, braces are used to enclose material that is quoted from the source which immediately precedes the brace.

6. To supplement and broaden educational backgrounds
7. To provide for the development of avocational interests through opportunities for self-expression.

The second statement of purposes was prepared by Ralph E. Crow for the Cleveland Public Schools.[3]

Adult education aims to extend opportunities for improved living to all people of all ages regardless of class, creed, or color. It is for everybody, regardless of how limited or how extended his formal schooling. It is for the native Clevelander, and for the new arrival to the city whether he comes from another state or from another country.

It aims to capture the interests of the "teenagers" who have just left day school and to give these young people a chance to progress along normal educational lines with the rest of their fellowmen. It gives some who have left school several years ago the chance to regain the opportunities which they foolishly, or through force of circumstances, gave up when they were young. It gives them, as well as those who may have had extended formal schooling, an opportunity to keep on growing, and to become better parents, technicians, and citizens. It helps adults discover their latent abilities and encourages them to develop their potentialities.

Adult education aims to prepare for up-grading those regularly employed, thereby increasing the efficiency of the workers on the job and preparing them for the next level of employment. It aims also to assist in preparing workers for employment in new fields. Sometimes an adult finds that he has prepared himself for a field in which later he discovers himself unhappy or ill-adapted, and so feels the need to prepare for an entirely new field. Technological changes in employment also frequently make rehabilitation necessary.

Many adult education activities serve as a tension release. This is particularly true in activities in which an opportunity is provided to create things. People have a natural desire to associate with others in groups. Adult classes bring together groups of people with similar interests and tend to satisfy the feeling of belonging. Some adult education activities enable individuals to associate for the purpose of working on phases of community betterment.

Adult education programs should contribute to the development of individuals and groups, fitting them to do intelligent, unbiased thinking so necessary in attempting to solve the ever-increasing political, economic, and social problems which confront people everywhere today. Our country needs citizens who have the ready ability to analyze an issue of any nature, study its facets intelligently, and come to clear, valid, and unbiased conclusion. If our country is to be

maintained as a democracy "of the people, by the people, and for the people," our masses must become a thinking people. They must be ever ready to ask of a situation or of a proposal: "Is it good?" "Is it bad?" "Why?" A pliant democracy, beneficial to the majority, cannot afford to have very many of its citizens "Yes" men and women. The importance of the independent thinking of every individual can hardly be over-emphasized. Such emphasis must tend to produce a people who will live richer, broader lives, and who will contribute to society by clear thought and fearless action.

At first glance it seems that there is nothing particularly controversial about such listings of purposes as those presented above. Most workers in adult education will agree that probably every item listed is worth while and has a contribution to make toward the enrichment of adult learning. It is when we move out of the realm of generalities and abstractions and place ourselves in actual community-bound, budget-bound situations that agreement ceases. We can no longer simply say, "All these purposes are good." Instead we are forced to ask, "Since it is impossible to place equal emphasis on all these purposes because of limitations of time and budget and facilities, which should be given priority? Where is it strategic to concentrate our resources? What kind of adult-education program is most significant?"

When such practical questions as those above are asked, there is frequently a strong difference of opinion. The four selections which follow indicate some of the various positions which have been taken as to the fundamental purposes. The first is by Sir Richard Livingstone.[4]

Here then is the first answer to the question, what is the aim of education? Its aim is to know the first-rate in any subject that we study, with a view to achieving it as nearly as our powers allow. If we could fix this firmly in our minds, we should not stumble through a variety of lessons, lectures, and books like a drunken man, only partially aware of where we are or what we are doing. We should cease to think that we go to school or college to pass examinations or to secure degrees or diplomas or to satisfy our teachers, though these may be and are incidental and limited objectives. We should have brought order into our education by realizing its true aim and we should have deepened in our minds through practice the sense that a worthy purpose in life is the desire for excellence, the pursuit of the first-rate.

So far, so good. But a very important question remains unanswered. We should desire excellence, pursue the first-rate. But in what fields? The difficulty with education, as with life, is that it has so many fields. One would like to know the first-rate in all of them, but that is impossible for the limited mind and energy of

man. Which, then, are the most important fields—or, narrowing the problem further, which are those in which every human being ought to know the first-rate? These should enter into the education of all.

The most obvious field is our job in life, our vocation in the usual sense of the word. Clearly, whatever it is, we ought to know the first-rate, the best methods to employ. In this field of vocational education, the modern world does well: we have a conscience about it or, at any rate, a sense of its importance; our provision of vocational education is good, and in engineering or medicine, commerce or technology, nursing or hotelkeeping, or any other of these activities which make up material civilization, we believe in quality, in the first-rate; we have a clear idea of what it means and we often achieve it. I shall, therefore, say nothing more about vocational studies. It is perhaps the only branch of education in which we are entirely successful, and there is no risk of its being ignored.

An educated man should know what is first-rate in those activities which spring from the creative and intellectual faculties of human nature, such as literature, art, architecture, and music. I should like to add science and philosophy, but in these two subjects it is difficult for any but the expert to estimate quality, and many educated people have not the close knowledge necessary to judge work in them. On the other hand everyone has close and daily contact with the other four. Architecture surrounds him in every city, literature meets him on every bookstall, music assails his ears on his radio set and from every juke box; and art in its protean aspects of form and color is a part of daily life. The architecture may often be bad, the literature and music often puerile, the art often undeserving of the name; but that is all the more reason why we should be able, in all of them to distinguish good from bad.

A second statement of purposes is taken from the *Report of the Cooperative Study of the Lincoln [Nebraska] Schools.*[5]

The basic purpose of a public school adult education program is to help the individual adult develop his abilities in such ways that his life becomes more satisfying to himself and his community is enriched by his increased knowledge or skill. Whatever courses or activities are offered may well be judged as good, bad, or indifferent means to this end. As a matter of necessity, there must be and there will be specific objectives that vary within the same subject or course in relation to individual differences, social changes, and available facilities. However, this basic purpose of a public school adult education program should be an ever-present consideration permeating all activities and influencing all decisions.

A policy committee of the Canadian Association for Adult Education formulated a third statement of goal.[6]

The adult education movement is based on the belief that quite ordinary men and women have within themselves and their communities the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate to the solution of their own problems. Through lack of knowledge and lack of leadership these resources are often not mobilized or not directed in constructive ways.

The primary tasks of adult education, therefore, are to awaken people to the possibilities and dangers of modern life, to help them with knowledge and leadership, and to provide channels of communication between different cultural, occupational and social groups so that the solution of human problems may be sought against the broadest background and in the interests of all. *In short, the task is the imaginative training for citizenship.*

Adult education should deal with the actual and living concerns of actual and living people. Adult education is a natural continuation and fulfillment of schooling. The lessons of mature citizenship can really only be learned by mature people. While provision must always be made for the training of the underprivileged and the neglected and for the occupation of leisure time, adult education must be seen as a normal activity of a developing and healthy society.

A fourth and final interpretation of fundamental purpose is taken from an article by Willard S. Townsend.[7]

As some of us see it, the primary purpose of the adult education movement is to serve as a channel whereby adults learn to understand, live with and tolerate each other, bringing a new dignity and well-being to all. While improving an individual's cultural development or mechanical aptitude may serve a worthwhile immediate purpose, it is dwarfed into insignificance when faced with the tremendous problem of adequate group understanding of the nature of the world we live in, and why the vast resources of that world should or should not be harnessed to bring new freedom, security and human dignity to all.

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Adult education must be functional and not an ornamental mantelpiece in the field of democratic education. For it is only by being functional that it can render a great service to the democratic aspirations of the common people. It should stand for something more important in our lives than just a hobby club or a sewing circle. It is this hobby-lobby, sewing circle philosophy of adult education that permeates the movement and is largely responsible for its acute inferiority

complex. However, there are brave souls who desire to break through the maze of the many inconsequential activities of adult education; and these are the pioneers who will conquer the new social frontiers.

A careful study of the four statements just presented, and of many others, indicates that a fundamental difference of opinion exists as to whether the needs of the individual as an individual or the needs of the individual as a responsible agent of social change should receive priority.

The first of the four preceding selections seems to imply that the needs of the individual to know the first-rate in any subject involved in his vocation and "those activities which spring from the creative and intellectual faculties of human nature, such as literature, art, architecture, and music," are of primary concern. Livingstone would apparently build an adult-education program to meet the vocational and cultural needs of individuals. The second selection retains the emphasis on the individual with the statement "The basic purpose of a public school adult education program is to help the individual adult develop his abilities in such a way that his life becomes more satisfying to himself . . ." and then adds ". . . and his community is enriched by his increased knowledge or skill." Obviously the point implied is that adult education should place its emphasis on developing the abilities of individuals so that they can better meet their own needs, for if this is done the community will be enriched.

In contrast to the two selections just discussed is the third, which emphasizes the solution of group problems. "The task is the imaginative training of citizenship." This emphasis is also stressed by the fourth selection with its forthright statement that the need for group understanding of certain basic social problems dwarfs into insignificance the need for improving an individual's cultural development or his mechanical aptitude.

Like most controversial issues, the question as to whether the major emphasis of adult education should be on individual or on social needs does not require of most educators an "either-or" type of answer. If a continuum could be drawn between an adult program planned entirely to meet individual needs and one planned entirely to meet social needs, we should probably find few educational leaders at either extreme. The great majority would be located somewhere in between, at points where, in their own thinking, they felt an effective balance between the two extremes could be established. Those who place themselves on this continuum closer to the individual-needs pole will generally be especially interested in promoting general cultural activities such as music, or art, or the theater; or such vocational subjects as shop work, or auto mechanics, or carpentry; or such leisure-time, tension-releasing activities as square dancing, bridge, or fly tying. On the other hand, those who place themselves on the continuum closer to the social-needs pole will be concerned not only with the study

about but with the solution to such problems as the improvement of family relations, the improvement of health conditions in the community, the establishment of more adequate recreational facilities in the community, or the bringing of stronger public support to the United Nations program.

Closely related to the continuum discussed above is one which extends from a type of adult education aimed at the building up of a comprehensive background of information and the development of the ability to think clearly about personal and social problems through the study and discussion of basic materials to a type of adult education which starts with the recognition of a problem and proceeds to the collection of data, the formulation of a program to solve the problem, and the actual carrying through of the suggested social change.

The two selections which follow illustrate widely separated points on this continuum. The first, by Mortimer J. Adler,[8] argues for the development of mature judgment and wisdom through reading and discussing the works of profound thinkers dealing with fundamental human problems. It is assumed that the mature judgment and wisdom when developed will be applied to the solution of the practical and actual social problems of today.

. . . Every adult who has had the best liberal training we can give in school years needs continuing liberal education throughout all the years of adult life. This is a large order. If we really mean every adult citizen, that is a large number; and if we really mean all the years of adult life, that is many years. The whole school system, from kindergarten through college, only occupies sixteen years; and yet, if the education of adults began at twenty-two, that would involve thirty or forty years more of learning.

How can we solve a problem of such magnitude? We cannot solve it unless we have some conception of what adults must do in order to sustain their minds, keep them alive, keep them growing. The program of adult learning must be something that will sustain learning through many years; something that treats adults as adults, not as children in school; something they can do voluntarily; something that is in every way proper for the mind. With all these requirements in view, I can think of only one program that fully and properly fits all the circumstances of the case. That is the great-books program.

First, the great books are great because they are inexhaustible. Unlike most of the things we read, the great books are indefinitely re-readable.

Second, the great books were written for adults, not for children. The great books are for adults in the sense that theirs is the level at which adults operate and think. I do not mean that we should not—in fact, I firmly believe that, for the liberal training of children in school, we should—start young people reading the great books in high school or in college. They cannot understand them at that age; but in addition to the obvious fact that students must be taught to read and

these are good books for the purpose, the great books must be read several times to be read well, and it is a good idea to get the first reading done as early as possible.

Third, the great books deal with the basic problems, both theoretical and practical, of yesterday and today and tomorrow, the basic issues that always confront mankind. The ideas they contain are the ideas all of us have to think about and think with. The great books represent the fund of human wisdom, at least so far as our culture is concerned, and it is this reservoir that we must draw upon to sustain our learning for a lifetime.

The next selection, from Edmund Brunner and E. Hsin Pao Yang,[9] deals with an approach which is based on finding the solution to many practical problems and assumes that this procedure has educational value which will develop in the individual greater initiative and ability in recognizing and solving other and perhaps more complex problems.

The basic core of Extension work today as in the past is the improvement of farm and home life, of rural incomes and levels of living, through increasing the technical and social knowledge of rural people. The goal of Extension is the maximum development of all resources, in the nation and in each county, economic and social, human and inanimate, for the achievement of the highest level of life possible.

Extension makes much use of the word "objective." The objective of one educational program may be a doubling of the number of farmers using disease-resistant seed, or of the number of homemakers buying or making "enriched" bread, or any of thousands of similar ends. But Extension workers appreciate, today perhaps more than at any other time in the 35-year history of Extension Service, that the objectives of these disparate projects blend into the more fundamental goal already stated. That goal can be attained, as the Joint Committee on Extension Programs, Policies and Goals stated, through "the development of people themselves to the end that they, through their own initiative, may effectively identify and solve the various problems directly affecting their welfare."

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There has been debate at times as to whether in a democratic society, as compared with a dictatorship, desirable social changes could be accomplished by educational means. Extension has been a most influential source of rural social change. In the aggregate, the tens of millions of changed practices reported in the thirty-five years of its history fall little short of a revolution in both farm and home operation. Even under the lash of depression it is doubtful if the first programs under the Agricultural Adjustment Act would have been adopted by

the 20-to-1 vote they were, had it not been for the teaching of the Extension Service. For the highly individualistic American farmer to approve crop restriction was indeed a major social change. When the same suggestion was made only two or three years before it was spurned; the farmers' own program for agricultural relief in the late 1920's called for no production controls. Extension's explanation of and teaching about the plan made the difference. Extension's teaching about the cooperative movement was also one of the factors in doubling the number of cooperative organizations and quadrupling the membership in the first half of the 1920's.

There are other differences between adult educators which might be charted on other continuums, but space does not permit a detailed discussion of them. Suffice it to say that a continuum might be developed with formal classroom teaching methods at one extreme and informal problem-solving discussion types of procedure at the other; or with the presentation of content material at one extreme and the development of skills at the other.

The authors do not see such issues as those of the individual approach *vs.* the social approach, or the development-of-basic-understanding approach *vs.* the problem-solution approach, or others mentioned in this chapter, as presenting dichotomies. They are convinced that there are innumerable positions which may be taken on such basic issues, one shading into another. The position taken by each individual should be formulated as the result of a careful analysis of the culture in which he functions.

This is not always the situation. For often an individual's attitude toward educational purposes and procedures is colored by such factors as tradition, his own vested interests in particular backgrounds of information and skill, or by the drag of institutional inertia. It seems highly desirable that workers in adult education in large numbers rethink their basic concepts on the basis of a careful study of some pertinent factors in our dynamic society. It is entirely possible that this thoughtful reconsideration of position will strengthen concepts already held. On the other hand, it may conceivably lead to some shift in position. Perhaps more important than the actual determination of position on such fundamental questions as those raised earlier in the chapter is the possibility that such rethinking may develop a more sympathetic understanding of the positions held by others. It is possible, too, that if workers in adult education consciously use an analysis of our culture as the starting point for their thinking about educational programs, there will be fewer conflicting points of view, less confusion as to purpose, and greater opportunity for cooperative effort.

To stimulate the reader to make such an analysis, the authors present in Chapter 2 their own interpretation of some of the social factors which have sig-

nificance for adult education. In Chapter 3 they indicate some of the priorities and directions for adult education which they feel grow out of their analysis.

We cannot emphasize better the importance of frequently checking our education concepts against social needs than by a short statement quoting some words of the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A.[10]

As seen by the Association, the fundamental goal of adult education is to enable adults to deal intelligently, democratically and peacefully with the problems posed for individuals and communities by the pervasive fact of change.

SOCIAL IMPERATIVES

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THUS FAR WE HAVE EXAMINED at least some of the varied purposes, needs, and approaches which currently characterize adult education in the United States. Programs now in operation range all the way from those which either tacitly or explicitly assume that the meeting of individual needs is of paramount importance, on the one hand, to those which put major stress upon the needs of society, on the other. Approaches range from programs which are primarily content-oriented, reflecting a belief that the communication of factual information is a desirable end in itself, to those which put major stress on skill training and action outcomes. On these and other value scales, workers in adult education take whatever position seems most consistent and defensible. Often the philosophical implications are not verbalized but the choices made among possible alternatives, and the procedures used in the management and operation of adult-education activities, reveal even more vividly than words the philosophical commitments involved.

The argument at this point is not that there should be only one continuum and certainly not that there should be uniformity of purpose or approach. Nor is there any intimation that a dichotomy between individual and social goals should influence our thinking. It is rather that whatever the adult-education activity, whatever the educational and philosophical bias of those who participate as administrators, teachers, or lay leaders, there are certain factors in the contemporary social situation which do have a bearing on the choices made. In this

chapter, therefore, we shall identify at least some of these social realities which produce what we call certain imperatives for adult education. From these data, we shall, in Chapter 3, project priorities and directions for adult education which may help to provide a kind of philosophical orientation within which the day-to-day problems of the teacher, administrator, and lay leader may be more consistently and efficiently resolved.

It should be stressed that the authors make no Olympian pretensions about the superiority of this particular analysis as compared with many others which have been and might be made. Rather they would encourage the reader to make his own study of the contemporary social situation and to deduce from the facts he discovers the specific set of priorities that will serve as guideposts as he fulfills his own role in the adult education movement. Moreover, any set of guiding principles, however derived, must by the very nature of the facts presented in this chapter be subjected to continuous re-assessment and re-evaluation. The quest is not for absolutes—attractive as these might be to the harassed administrator, program planner, or practitioner—but rather for a process which will ensure the continuing vitality of the adult-education movement, prevent excessive formalization and institutionalization within the field, and by so doing maintain a sensitivity and responsiveness to the needs of the society which it seeks to serve.

It is encouraging to note that one of the first committees organized by the new Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. was the Committee on Social Philosophy and Direction Finding. The purpose of this committee, as stated by one of its first co-chairmen, is "to re-define the function of the new organization with regard to continuing interpretation of the social scene in the light of its effects on the educational needs of adults."[1]

In the article from which these words have been taken, the Committee reports the statement of tentative principles which should guide the American adult-education movement and reviews at least some of the criticisms and suggestions which this statement has elicited from practitioners in the field. In formulating its tentative statement of principles, the committee does not attempt anything like an exhaustive analysis of the social realities from which these principles are derived. A partial spelling out of these realities as identified in this chapter may serve to increase the area of agreement as to the priorities and directions which should influence the future of the movement. Even if this happy result does not occur, the process exemplified in this chapter may encourage further exploration of the major social influences which must be reckoned with in any statement of principles to which workers in adult education can conscientiously subscribe.

The authors have selected four characteristics of contemporary American life which seem to be of central importance to adult education: (1) the growth of interdependence, (2) the growth of knowledge, (3) the declining importance of the primary, face-to-face group in American community life, and (4) the

changing role of the individual. Admittedly this list is far from exhaustive or inclusive. For example, the Joint Committee of the American Association for Adult Education and the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association, meeting in December 1949 to lay the foundations for a new and unified national membership organization in the field of adult education, a project which has now come to fruition, identified the following features of the social environment as posing problems for adults and therefore for adult education: (1) social stratification, (2) the breakdown of primary groups, (3) intergroup tensions, (4) population trends, (5) technological change, (6) interdependence and specialization of social units, (7) prevalence of one-way mass communications, (8) the large size of social units, and (9) the socially irresponsible actions of private and governmental vested interests. Many, if not all, of the items in this list will be referred to in the discussions and selections included in this chapter.

The Growth of Interdependence

A complex of factors are related to the growth of interdependence. Improvements in communication and transportation, urbanization, and population increase have all had a part to play in modifying the traditional concept of the "rugged individualist," master of his own destiny, dependent only on the variety and extent of his own resources and always free to escape to the frontier if the responsibilities of community living became too burdensome. Although the facts of interdependence are now clear, many of the attitudes and behavioral patterns which stem from this earlier tradition still prevail and frequently block the way to cooperative endeavor in the solution of community and social problems. The following selection from the report of the Committee on Social Philosophy, already referred to, identifies the problem.[2]

Citizenship in the modern world is, however, incomplete and fractional unless the participating citizen realizes that he lives in an *expanding environment*, and that he cannot cope successfully with his local problems unless these are viewed in the light of regional, national and world perspectives.

The expanding environment of everyone's life calls for thinking of the community as a larger and larger place. Adult education must arouse interest in the whole community and in seeing its problems. Opportunity must be provided for practice by adults of educational activities which will include consideration of the whole world. Living together is the basis of any program for men, and interdependence in economic as well as political affairs is implicit in living together effectively and permanently. Scientific discovery of communication and transportation methods has made the interdependence complete. The job and

the opportunity of the adult education movement in America is to take the lead in education first of ourselves, and then others by example, so that this new condition to living together effectively and happily may be met.

In the following selection, by Kenneth D. Benne, which is based on the writings of John Dewey, some suggestions as to the nature of the problem faced by adult education in coming to grips with the fact of interdependence in the world today are selected and applied.[3]

If we grant with Dewey that the theater of operations for adult education lies not in the school alone or primarily, but in the educational processes implicit or explicit in the operations of government, business, labor, agriculture, and other institutions, we may be encouraged to look for wisdom in Dewey's analyses of the broadly educational effects of other institutions. It has seemed to the writer for many years that, of Dewey's writings, *The Public and Its Problems* offers most suggestions concerning the central problem of adult education today. What directions for development does it suggest?

The central problem developed in Dewey's discussion of the reorganization and reeducation of a "public" adequate to manage and direct modern society in the "public" interest is set by the phrases, "Great Society" and "Great Community." The "Great Society" was a term coined by Graham Wallas to describe the vast web of social interdependencies and dependencies which have come to shape and condition men's lives under industrialization. A little more than a century ago the human forces which for the most part shaped the lives of men grew and operated within the round of face-to-face associations, in the family, local church, and local neighborhood. In Dewey's phrase, "those (associations) which were important . . . were local and contiguous and consequently visible. Human beings, if they shared in them at all, shared directly and in a way of which they were aware in both their affections and beliefs."

It was the new technology which brought the "Great Society," which in Woodrow Wilson's language brought "a new social age, a new age of human relationships, a new stage-setting for the drama of life." As Dewey put it, "The local communities without intent or forecast found their affairs conditioned by remote and invisible organizations. The scope of the latter's activities was so vast and their impact upon face-to-face associations so pervasive and unremitting that it is no exaggeration to speak of 'a new age of human relations.' . . . The invasion of the community by the new and relatively impersonal and mechanical modes of human behavior is the outstanding fact of modern life. In these ways of aggregate activity the community, in its strict sense, is not a conscious partner and over them it has no direct control."

The "Great Society" is in fact today worldwide. International "community" is undeveloped. "Community" has been inadequately realized at regional and national levels. At the local level, it has been threatened and eroded or lost.

The "Great Society" has not become a "Great Community." The "public" interest, once visible, has been fragmented into noncommunicating and, at times, warring special interests, each attempting to interpret the "public" interest in its special terms. Dewey makes clear the general distinction between "society" and "community" in formulating the task of recovering an articulate and intelligent "public." "Associated or joint activity is a condition of the creation of a community. But association itself is physical and organic, while communal life is moral. . . . No amount of aggregated collective action of itself constitutes a community . . . (wants and impulses must be) translated into desires and purposes, which, since they implicate a common or mutually understood meaning, present new ties, converting a conjoint activity into a community of interest and endeavor. . . . A community thus presents an order of energies transmuted into one of meanings which are appreciated and mutually referred by each to every other on the part of those engaged in combined action. 'Force' is not eliminated but is transformed in use and direction by ideas and sentiments made possible by means of symbols."

The task of converting the physical facts of social interdependence into the actuality of common moral endeavor is the task of converting the "Great Society" into the "Great Community." Nor, as Dewey makes clear, is this different from the task of democratizing industrial and national societies. "Regarded as an idea, democracy is not an alternative to other principles of associated life. It is the idea of community life itself. . . . Wherever there is conjoint activity whose consequences are appreciated as good by all singular persons who take part in it, and where the realization of the good is such as to effect an energetic desire and effort to sustain it in being just because it is a good shared by all, there is in so far a community. The clear consciousness of a communal life, in all its implications, constitutes the idea of democracy."

What Dewey presents as the general conditions of democratizing modern life, the construction of a community life to bring adequately shared and genuinely "public" control into the "Great Society," the present writer believes are equally the conditions of an adequate adult education. In this task, the various agencies of adult education may find a potentially common goal and a sound basis of cooperation.

Our failure to recognize the facts of interdependence and the implications of this failure for adult education in the local community are described by Howard Y. McClusky in the next selection.[4]

In simplest terms adult education may be defined as the education of adults, but in practice is far more multiform than the preceding statement superficially reveals. If one inspects the twenty-seven titles of the series of monographs on the social significance of adult education in the United States issued by the American Association of Adult Education he will find subjects ranging from workers and parent education on the one hand to correspondence study and agricultural extension on the other. Because people vary, because interests differ at different stages of development, and because adulthood is the period of greatest diversification, there will be a wide margin of adult education forever intransigent to systematic formulation. This writer for one heartily favors this prospect, for within practical limits adult education must be conceived in broad and flexible terms in order to accommodate the unpredictable form which the educational needs of adults will take. On the other hand, adult education will not be served by a diversity so great that one area has nothing in common with other areas except for the fact that the persons involved are past a certain chronological age. If chronological age is the only focus which adult education can achieve, progress, planning, and organization in the field will be greatly retarded.

Because it promises a stable core within which much variety is necessary and around which the remaining phases may profitably cluster, and because it conforms to the realities of society and needs of adults, the writer proposes the following statement of the central purpose of adult education: to lead adults into an understanding and enjoyment of community and to equip them to exercise a practical control over their common life. A corollary of this thesis is that the experience of community and exercise of control can be most effectively achieved through understanding and participation in meeting the needs of people living together in neighborhoods and communities.

In the preceding statement the word "community" is used with two meanings, one in the sense of spatial (or geographical) location and the other in the sense of common interest that may transcend local areas. The latter is regarded as a statement of objective whereas the former is regarded as the location, setting, and means for the achievement of the objective.

. . . Our world is saturated with interdependence which if violated will destroy society. World War II is conclusive and terrifying confirmation of this fact. On the other hand, the experience of interdependence lags far behind the reality of interdependence. The number of people we can see far exceeds the number of people we can know, let alone understand and enjoy. Moreover the superspecialization of modern life limits contact with our economy to a minute fraction of the whole. Cabined and insecure we seek refuge in some group organized around personal, economic, occupational, or racial concerns. But we are far from feeling a belongingness to the community as a whole. We persist in speaking of a mythical "they," as if they were some entity apart from ourselves

and against which we were pitting our interest. The sense of "we" is too often lost in competition, suspicion, and envy.

This problem is multiform, but is broadly outlined in four overlapping types of conflict: rural vs. urban, the "haves vs. have-nots," the white vs. the black races, and labor vs. management. To gloss over the ominous character of these schisms is a naive misreading of current trends. On the other hand, to assume that these conflicts are beyond control and like an untreated disease must run their destructive course spells defeat and betrays a low view of the function and possibilities of education. Moreover, to program adult education in disregard of these trends is to ignore the process of social splitting of which these cleavages are an outcome. Adult education must heal and synthesize, for synthesis leads to a sense of community, and a sense of community is a necessary condition of survival in a highly interdependent and fragile society.

Competence in the exercise of control is an equally important objective of adult education. We live in a period of growing centralization and consolidation of economic and political power. Little by little the tide of centralized authority encroaches on the jurisdiction of smaller units of organization. . . . With its hierarchy of controls, its governmental and nongovernmental officialdom, centralization is here—another overwhelming feature of our times.

In the meanwhile what is happening to the individual citizen? The world is too much for him so he delegates his authority; if a stockholder, to the board of directors, if a laborer, to the head of his union, if a layman to the professional expert, and as a citizen, to his representative on the city council, the county board of supervisors, the state legislature, and Congress. The magnitude and complexity of the many problems confuse and dilute his sense of control. Nothing he does seems to make any difference, so he rapidly declines into helpless irresponsibility. The managers are the bosses and the rank and file take orders.

No one with any sense of the realities of our interdependent and centralized world doubts the necessity for the delegation of authority. Complete and unqualified autonomy for every individual on all matters would mean anarchy for society and collapse for the individual. For the predictable future a large number of the decisions affecting our lives must be made by persons who by training and ability are in a position to judge better than ourselves. But there is a point beyond which the transfer of authority must not go. If democracy means government by the governed, *we cannot delegate citizenship!* Every individual competent to pull his own load must reserve a spot in his life for direct participation in the management of his personal, social, political, and economic affairs, and it should be a major objective of adult education to assist adults to manage these affairs with competence.

For most people education in the experience of community and in the control of their common affairs can best occur in terms of the community in which they

live. The responsibilities of home and occupation set practical restrictions to the territory over which adults can range. They may exchange ideas with travellers from distant countries; they may listen to broadcasts, read news stories, and see motion pictures from all over the world. In their vacations they may shake off the dust of the old home town. But practically everyone eats, sleeps, works, shops, studies, worships, worries, hates, loves, and laughs in the community in which he lives. It is the area in which at least 90 percent of the people have 95 percent of their primary experience.

From this elementary but neglected fact flows a number of important implications. It is the key to the basic problem of access. If no one goes to school, there is no school. If no adults take part, there is no adult education. And since there is neither law nor social pressure to force them to school, reaching the unreached is an inescapable and formidable prerequisite to any program of adult education. The solution of this problem depends on a full recognition that access to adults is conditioned largely by the manifold relationships within the community in which they live.

The community is also the basic setting for the curriculum of adult education. The subjects of health, recreation, religion, city planning and land use, juvenile delinquency, family life, taxation, labor relations, and so on, have no separate existence outside of books and conferences. They are simultaneous and continuous; they have background and history, and overlap in a web of intermingling relationships. They are aspects of one overall reality: the experience of people living together in a community. If they are to be understood they must be understood in their community context, and if they are to be solved they must be attacked by the resources of the community as a whole.

A casual review of the administrative folkways of America will reveal a multitude of governmental and nongovernmental resources in a series of local, state, and national units. In this hierarchy the community is the strategic unit of operation. It has primary contact with the individual on the one hand and the remote agency on the other. It is the crossroads for the interflow of traffic between the grass roots and headquarters. Administratively, it is at once funnel and nozzle. As funnel it may converge and coordinate the manifold assets of outside agencies for the consumer, and as nozzle it may direct the contribution of the rank and file to the ends of the earth. Problems do not all exist in the same form at the same time in all communities, but all problems exist in some form, somewhere in some community. Moreover the programs to solve these problems may be the agenda of distinguished commissions, the theme of national conferences, and the content of postgraduate instruction, but they have no reality unless embodied in the life of some community. The ultimate proving ground of county, state, and national policy is the community.

Some cosmopolitan reader may regard this community emphasis as a strange anachronism in a world already well on its way toward a global economy. But

community has both a local and general meaning and both meanings are interrelated. In order for the rank and file adult to comprehend the far-flung forces of the world he must be led to understand their impact on the community in which he lives. Moreover, in order for him to influence these forces he must know the contribution which his community can make to their control. The treatment of minorities in central Europe is an issue of transcendent importance, and Mr. Jones in Middletown should instruct his representatives to be informed about it; but the problem of minorities like most problems is universal, so Mr. Jones under practical circumstances can do more about minorities of central Europe by working on the corresponding problem in Middletown. Charity does not begin at home. Charity begins everywhere. But Mr. Jones' charity begins at home and it ends all over the world. And he will gain a realistic world outlook by attacking his problems at home and by generalizing his experience in ever widening areas of understanding.

The Growth of Knowledge

More than twenty years ago President Hoover's Commission on Recent Social Trends identified as one of the major problems of our time "the wider discovery of new knowledge." This challenge to adult education furnishes authoritative testimony to the increasingly serious gap between scientific invention and technological advance, on one hand, and changes in political and economic institutions, on the other. In our commendable zeal to produce new knowledge, we have created a new kind of intellectual elite, who, in the pursuit of their specialties, learn more and more about less and less until communication becomes a serious problem not only between the specialist and the layman but among the specialists themselves. The nature of this problem is clearly indicated by the following selection, written by an outstanding scientist, Arthur H. Compton.[5]

In the long view of history, if I am not mistaken, the first half of the twentieth century will be remembered as epochal in the effect that the advance of science has had on man's view of himself. We have come to understand at long last our place in space and time. We have learned that we are an integral part of the great cosmic event which we call nature, but with certain remarkable distinctions: we are aware of our world, we are able within expanding limits to shape the world to our needs, and reaffirming that we are indeed our brothers' keepers, we find in this fact real meaning for the life of which we are a part. For the first time in man's history, the experience of the last fifty years has given us a sound basis for aspiring to a social order in which the great tragedies of destitution and premature death shall be the exception rather than the rule, in which edu-

cation that brings understanding of truth and appreciation of beauty shall be generally available, in which the dominant social force will be the desire to aid one's fellows toward achieving a worthy life. It is to enable us thus to plan realistically for the greater possibilities that lie ahead, that I want to attempt a review of what the science of the last fifty years has shown us about ourselves and what we may reasonably hope to become.

I presume the fact that "knowledge is power" has always been recognized. It has remained, however, for the last century to set aside major groups of men whose primary occupation is to find useful knowledge. During the last fifty years the product of their studies has so greatly affected our ability to do the things we want to do that man today finds himself in a new sense responsible for guiding wisely his own development and the development of all life on this planet. We recognize also that great powers beyond our control, working not only in the outside world but also within ourselves, are shaping our destiny along lines that may be at sharp variance with our intentions. As the knowledge and the strength that goes with it have increased, the way in which man's powers are a part of these great world forces and are limited by them has become increasingly evident. Yet to an ever greater degree we find ourselves able to harmonize our efforts with the requirements of cosmic law and thus to determine the destiny of ourselves and of our fellows. . . .

The great advances of the past half century were the outgrowth of the previous half millennium of modern science, that started in the fifteenth century with Leonardo, Copernicus, Columbus and shortly afterward with Galileo. . . . What has happened to mankind in the last fifty years is merely our generation's experience of a great adventure which has included three centuries of American pioneering, two thousand years of the development of Christian spirit in the hearts of men, and millions of years of ceaseless struggle by living creatures to achieve the best that nature has made possible for them.

While fifty years is indeed only a thousandth of a second in the long day that the world has existed, that moment has given a very substantial addition to the heritage of the future. In terms of man's awareness of his relation to the world, and in terms of his ability to bend nature to his needs, the advance during this half century has been comparable with that during all the previous history of the earth. To the science of the last fifty years we owe our knowledge of the dawn of civilization and of the spatial limits of our universe. It was not until the present half century that informed men and women generally based their thinking on a recognition of themselves as products of nature working in its normal course.

But much new about the physical nature of life has also been added. With regard to man's understanding of his own nature, two facts have emerged that are worthy of special note. The first is that while according to the accepted science of 1901 man's every act was completely determined in advance by the

motions and forces of the elemental atoms, the science of 1951 recognizes that there is no complete predetermination of man's actions by physical law. After taking into account all the physical factors introduced through the external world and the physiology of the nervous system, there still remains an area within which man's actions are in principle unpredictable. This means that in terms of physical science, while fifty years ago one saw no possible counterpart in man's actions to his feeling of free choice, now the physical possibility of such a counterpart must be recognized. That is, physics now admits the possibility of human freedom and thus his moral responsibility which fifty years ago it could not with consistency admit.

This development is of no small significance in this day of conflict between the authoritarian and the free world. It is no accident that in communist Russia the physical principle of uncertainty, on which this change from physical determinism depends, is rejected as inconsistent with the principles of Marxian materialism, and my own researches on the theory of the scattering of X-rays which were partly responsible for the uncertainty principle may not be taught as valid. Thus is emphasized the importance of science's carefully tested finding that the freedom of man is consistent with physical law.

The second notable fact about man that emerges from this half century of science is that science seems incapable of giving any clue as to how man's awareness is related to what happens in the world of matter. Our studies of physical science have given us no knowledge whatever of how it is that we feel and think and choose.

The recent experiments with the so-called "thinking machines" have brought sharply to our attention the fact that considered responses to stimuli do not imply awareness. Awareness, or consciousness, is in a category distinct from our objective science. It is something which each of us experiences subjectively, and hence knows more immediately than we do the external world. We can find by experiment how our own conscious life may be affected by internal and external physical conditions. But how this consciousness comes to be, or how widespread awareness may occur throughout the universe, science gives us little guide. . . .

Far more important to men and women than the pleasures of the radio or the motor car is the fact that they can get the food and shelter and the medical care needed to keep themselves and their families in health and reasonable comfort. Not so striking, but of equal significance, is the fact that our standard of living has continued to increase over this half century while the population of our nation has doubled. It is this demonstrated ability to maintain a rising standard of life within a population that is essentially confined to a limited area, which Arnold Toynbee has recently described as the great historic event of our time. Never before has such a thing occurred. It has given new hope to man the world over that the specters of hunger, destitution and disease may be banished forever from the earth.

What has made this continued improvement possible? Can we expect the rise in living conditions to continue indefinitely?

It is evident that the advance in our scientific knowledge is an essential factor, but it is equally evident that by itself our new discoveries are not sufficient to account for this remarkable human phenomenon.

In addition to the essential importance of the new scientific knowledge, it seems to me that the continuing advance of living standards requires two factors which are present in the United States to an unusual degree. The first is the spirit of the American who is eager to do his part in making the life in his community what he thinks it ought to be. The second is our education both formal and informal, for mutual understanding and cooperative action. It is the first of these that has resulted in the rapid acceptance and development of new ideas. It is the second that has made possible the effective and stable operation of widespread business and industry whose key men are highly specialized experts. . . .

What this new knowledge means in the way of culture lag is indicated in the following excerpt from the writings of Carl Becker.[6]

. . . never before have men made relatively greater progress in the rational control of physical force, or relatively less in the rational control of social relations. The fundamental reason for this discrepancy is clear: it is that the forces of Nature have been discovered and applied by a few exceptional individuals, whereas every effort to ameliorate human relations has been frustrated by the fact that society cannot be transformed without the compliance of the untutored masses. . . . It is therefore not enough that a few exceptional individuals should have discovered the advantages to be derived from rational social arrangements; in addition the masses who compose society must be persuaded or compelled to adapt their activities to the proposed changes, and the means of persuasion or compulsion must be suited to the apprehension of common men. The result is that those who have, or might acquire, the necessary matter-of-fact knowledge for adjusting social arrangements to the conditions created by technological progress have not the necessary authority, while those who have the necessary authority (representatives elected by the people, or dictators who act with their assent) must accommodate their measures to a mass intelligence that functions most effectively at the level of primitive fears and tabus.

. . . until recently the chief function of the sophisticated, the priests and scribes, has been to stabilize custom and validate social authority by perpetuating the tradition and interpreting it in a manner conformable to the understanding of common men. During the last three hundred years this functional

connection between the sophisticated and the unsophisticated has been broken, since there has emerged a new class of learned men, successors to the priests and scribes, whose function is to increase rather than to preserve knowledge, to undermine rather than to stabilize custom and social authority. . . .

The exceptional few move with assurance and live at ease in an infinitely expanded time-and-space world. . . . But within this enlarged frame of reference common men are not at home. . . .

. . . While the mastery of the physical world has been effected by scientists whose activities, unhampered by the conscious resistance of their subject matter or the ignorance of common men, have been guided by matter-of fact knowledge and the consciously formulated purpose of subduing things to precisely determined ends, the organization of society has been left to the chance operation of individual self-interest and the uncertain pressure of mass opinion, in the expectation that a beneficence not of man's devising would somehow shape the course of events to a desired but undefined good end.

Two additional selections, both brief, are included in this connection. The first, from the *Bulletin* of the National University Extension Association,[7] suggests that the problem can be met most effectively by improvement of instructional methods and techniques.

At the first National University Extension Conference in 1915, President Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin spoke as follows:

"To about the middle of the 19th century the advancement of knowledge was comparatively slow, and at least a fair proportion of the knowledge that the people could apply had been assimilated by them in the more enlightened nations. But since the year 1850 the advancement of knowledge has been greater than in a thousand and probably in five thousand years before. The result is that the accumulation of knowledge has far outrun the assimilation of the people. Much of this knowledge has accumulated during the past twenty-five years, since men still in full maturity have left the schools and colleges."

What President Van Hise said in 1915 about the preceding twenty-five years can certainly be said with increased emphasis about the thirty-five year period since. The speed of accumulation of knowledge seems to be racing ever faster; but the speed of distribution seems slow in comparison. New instructional methods and techniques are continually being developed, but such development does not always result in widespread use. Certainly much of this new information needs to be given the citizenry in time for them to use it.

A selection by the sociologist Robert S. Lynd[8] indicates that the informational approach alone is not likely to solve our problem.

Our contemporary world is losing its confidence in the inevitability of Progress. Men's ways of ordering their common lives have broken down so disastrously as to make hope precarious. So headlong and pervasive is change today that the scholar's historical parallels are decreasingly relevant as present guides, because so many of the variables in the situation have altered radically. The scholar-scientist is in acute danger of being caught, in the words of one of Auden's poems, "Lecturing on navigation while the ship is going down."

The Declining Importance of the Primary, Face-to-face Group

The declining importance of the basic primary group in American life is not a new phenomenon. Sociologists and educators have pointed out over a period of years that, under the impact of the mass media and the pressure to belong to secondary associations of one type or another, the time left to the individual for participation in those basic face-to-face groups, such as the family and the informal friendship group, in which his ideas, values, systems, and attitudes are formed, is almost non-existent.

A few additional excerpts from Robert Lynd[9] state the problem in specific terms. Speaking of the patterning of our American culture, he says:

It is a pattern of *increasingly large population masses, held together principally by the tie of the individual to his job, and with attenuated sentiments of community in feeling and purpose.* Ours is a culture of increasing mass-living in urban units. The portion of the total population of the United States living in urban places with 8,000 or more population has risen from 3 per cent in 1790, to 7 per cent in 1830, to 16 per cent in 1860, to 33 per cent in 1900, and to 49 per cent in 1930. "By 1930 there were nearly 15 times as many rural people in the United States as there were in 1790, but there were more than 300 times as many urban people. . . . In 1929 there were concentrated in 155 [of the more than 3,000] counties containing the larger industrial cities, 64.7 per cent of all of the industrial establishments, 74 per cent of all industrial wage earners, 80.7 per cent of all salaried officers and employees. Moreover, 78.8 per cent of all wages and 82.9 per cent of all salaries in the country were paid in these [155] counties." Not only does the urban pattern now dominate our culture quantitatively, but, with growing inter-communication and the concentration of sources of diffusion within

large cities, the urban population is increasingly calling the tune for the patterning of the entire culture.

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Whereas the close, personalized contacts of the neighborhood encouraged spontaneous social cohesion in the rural, village, and small-town matrix in which our culture took shape, unguided spontaneity may not be relied upon to tie in the individual so securely as the population-base grows to city proportions. The rough generalization may be made that, as the size of a community grows arithmetically, the need for deliberate (as over against unplanned, casual) organization that weaves the individual into the group life increases in something like a geometrical progression. Urbanism in our culture has been almost entirely a matter of material change. As just pointed out, under the doctrine of casualness virtually no attention has been paid to the planning and perfecting of the nonmaterial factor of social organization.

Many of those who migrate to our larger cities pride themselves on the fact that "Now, thank God, I don't *have* to know my neighbors, go to Rotary, belong to a church, or participate in an annual Community Chest drive!" And the big city does little to disabuse them of this attitude. Individuals can and do live comfortably in our large cities with no formal ties between themselves and the structures of the culture save the money tie between them and their jobs. One may or may not elect to exercise one's political right to vote; one may or may not own property, marry, or belong with anybody else to anything; but one must tie into the structure to the extent of getting money regularly. The culture puts an extreme reliance upon this money nexus between the indiviual and his job to hold the culture together. As jobs are given to individuals and not to families, the latter institution suffers. Urban folk delay marriage and in some cases elect not to marry; and kinship ties are narrowing and attenuating. Citizenship ties are weakening in our urban world to the point that they are largely neglected by large masses of people. Neighborhood and community ties are not only optional but generally growing less strong; and along with them is disappearing the important network of intimate, informal social controls traditionally associated with living closely with others. Protestant religious ties are so optional and tenuous that the church has sunk to its weakest point in our national history as an active instrument of cultural structuring. Leisure ties are increasing in number but are highly unstable.

The individual's identifying tag derived from his job and the property it yields him tends to be heavily overworked as the fragile basis for social cohesion. The common focus is not on living together but on "the job." Old feelings of deep and diversified community are being displaced by slogans: "Buy in Akron!" "What's good for business is good for your family!" This carelessness about common sentiment is part of the general orientation toward matter-of-factness in a culture stressing material development, personal mobility, and postponement of

the subtleties of living. At point after point our culture plays down extensive, acute, and subtle feeling. To be "businesslike" is to be impersonal; in our moments of deep, personalized emotion we tend to retreat from others into ourselves or to the trusted tolerance of our immediate family; a businessman who is "artistic" may be somewhat suspect; being "romantic" or "idealistic" is regarded as an evidence of youth; and the person who "gets enthusiastic about things" is mildly disparaged as immature and "unsound." Human beings do not easily live so emotionally sterilized. So we burst out periodically in sex, drinking, hard-driving week-ends, and gusts of safe, standardized feeling at the movies and football games. Mickey Mouse and Charlie McCarthy tend to displace Uncle Sam and local symbols as repositories of common sentiment. They sweep the country because there is so little else to feel about in common. They offer little identification of our personal rhythms of feeling with the deeper purposes of the culture as a whole and with our common goals as members of it.

No one, certainly, would argue that the mass media have all or major responsibility for the declining importance of the primary group. Nevertheless, there are those who argue that if the media continue to be misused and if their impact on American thinking is not counteracted by the cultivation of face-to-face discussion groups, the influence of radio, television, and motion pictures will, on the whole, have a harmful effect upon the vitality of the American system. One point of view, by an eminent leader in adult education, Morse A. Cartwright, is represented in the following selection.[10]

. . . Whether attributable to [World War II] or to the psychological release attendant upon the end of the conflict, the general public today is displaying an increasing interest in the pressures brought to bear upon it by the mass media. These media include primarily the press, the radio and the motion picture. They also embrace the many other lesser forms of audio and visual education that modern invention and gadgeteering have placed alike within the reach of him who would educate and him who would influence public opinion. Conscious as he is of the constant use of these media in his daily life, the American citizen at present is as often confused by their content as he is led to that clearer understanding which is—or should be—the goal of all education.

Strangely enough the citizen's confusion is only echoed and multiplied by the high priests who lay claim to expertness in the manifold fields of human endeavor which increasingly place reliance upon the mass media in achieving their objectives in modern society. Either blind to the implications and nuances inherent in the use of these gadgets or downright conscienceless in their employment, the audio-visual experts continue to lead their equally blind audiences

and adherents through a mirror-maze of appeals to this and that which end only in a deepening of the welter of confusion.

Battered by pressures—to vote, to buy, to sell, to give, to support, to oppose, to register alarm, to do something or not to do it—the American citizen reels groggily from listening post to observation post and back again, unclear in his mind as to what to think, uncertain as to the facts, and wholly at sea, it would seem, as to the far more important matter of how to think and how to get time to think how to think. And this we like to describe as a democratic process through which a whole people arrives at a decision upon a given issue and proceeds, through representative government and otherwise, to social action. That the process is something less than perfect most of us readily will admit. But how to do anything about it seems to have us pretty well stumped, at least for the moment.

What are the peculiar and unique properties of the primary face-to-face, or friendship, group that make it so important an element in the democratic system? A partial answer to this question is to be found in the selection from an article by Eduard C. Lindeman.[11]

. . . My basic inquiry . . . is this: does it seem likely that Democracy can survive and take on new vitality if it is not founded firmly upon small groups of the friendship variety?

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The groups which I have in mind may be said to be without specific purpose; they are primary in the sense that their members communicate directly in face-to-face manner, but not in the sense that they derive from family or church; they are autonomous in the sense that they are free to control both their inner and outer affairs and bear no allegiance to external or more comprehensive authorities; they assume a friendship pattern since the same processes will take place regardless of the number of persons present at any given time. These groups exist because the separate members like each other and are capable of sharing experiences in such manner as to create deep and lasting satisfactions. The manner in which these small groups are related to larger and more functional groups is extremely complicated, especially in urban communities. What needs to be remembered at this point, however, is merely this: without such groups it is difficult to see how an organic democratic society can be sustained. I hope that the succeeding propositions will help to clarify this thesis.

I. The folkways, those customs of which men are conscious and whose violation they resent, determine our standards of conduct. The compulsion of the folkways may be stronger in a primitive than in a sophisticated society, but even in

the latter, it must be admitted that the folkways probably play a more important role in shaping conduct than any other element.

I assume that this principle of Sumner's is sound in every respect. No clue to the understanding of why people behave as they do is so revealing as that afforded by reference to the folkways. The only distinction which is required to differentiate primitive from sophisticated societies is this: in modern sophisticated societies, educated persons criticize the folkways and consider their influence to be primarily unprogressive if not harmful, whereas in primitive societies the folkways are not questioned nor violated save at the cost of punishment and ostracism.

II. The folkways are a product of primary-group experience. Folkways arise whenever and wherever conscious associational experience prevails.

This proposition requires modification. Folkways are produced in numerous ways, among which the most important is through primary group experience. There are evidences, however, that some folkways arise from accidental events; their origin, in other words, is not traceable to the slow development of ideas in small and intimate groups, but appears to be attached to something sudden and spectacular which must thereafter be believed.

III. Although the folkways require revision in the light of new knowledge and experience, it seems true that the folkways are essentially democratic in nature. They are commonly accepted modes of behavior derived from common experience.

The important item in this proposition is the use of the term "common experience." It cannot be successfully held that all experiences are democratic. What I have in mind is this: experience which emanates from a common understanding, and is thereafter referred to as though both the values and the meanings involved belonged in common to all participants, is democratic experience.

IV. Rationalistic movements of thought in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries (the British, French, and American revolutions) brought most, if not all, of the existing folkways into question. It should be noted that this was the period of ascending political democracy. While political democracy was gaining almost everywhere in Western Culture, that common experience out of which standards of conduct arose (the folkways) lost its sanction.

We are here confronted with a true paradox. While democracy was expanding there was also arising within its midst, indeed at its very center, that assignment to reason which was destined in the end to destroy many of the folkways upon which democracy rested. Confronted with this dilemma, there are some who seek recovery by striving to recapture the past, by denying the rationalizations which are making life so uncertain and uncomfortable; others, quite to the contrary, seek refuge in a further extension of reason, regardless of how many cherished folkways are thereby destroyed. Still a third group, to which the author

belongs, seeks for a balance between these extremes, a way of resolving the two apparently contradictory laws of change and of continuity.

V. We are thus confronted with the following dilemma: arbitrarily organized functional groups (trade unions, chambers of commerce, etc.), being primarily end-gaining organizations, have become careless respecting means, and many of these make no pretenses on behalf of democracy; at the same time, primary groups (sometimes called face-to-face, friendship, or autonomous groups), having no immediate or short-term goal in view, continue to project folkways which are no longer accepted as valid.

The hiatus described above implies that we have lost the connection between functions and values. Our group manipulations have become Machiavellian. Our functional groups coerce us but do not thereby elicit true loyalty. Since these larger organizations make no use of the smaller friendship groups, the products of the two types of association become antipathetic rather than confluent.

VI. Contempt for the outworn folkways became gradually contempt for those primary groups from which the folkways arose. While democracy was prized in the abstract, the roots from which democratic conduct emanates were being destroyed.

Thomas Jefferson foresaw this possibility, namely, that democracy might be destroyed at its roots while at the same time people might continue to venerate its outer forms. He issued many warnings, one of the most important being his oft-repeated reminder that democracies would find it difficult to subsist without a prosperous agricultural population plus a strong allegiance to science. Discussion will soon reveal how both of these factors are involved in the above proposition.

VII. This situation has precipitated numerous confusions, a few of which are here enumerated:

(1) the confusions between relativistic and absolutistic morality;

(2) the tendency to evaluate primary groups with the same standards applied to functional or end-gaining groups, such as (*a*) the struggle to make primary groups permanent, and (*b*) the effort to transform primary groups into functional groups;

(3) specialists are trained to organize and operate functional groups but not primary or organic groups;

(4) some social theorists have come to believe that modern democracy rests solely upon functional groups controlled by law. They anticipate the emergence of reliable standards of conduct from the competition between various functional groups each striving to exert maximum pressure upon the state;

(5) other social theorists, on the contrary, believe that a completely functionalized society which derives nothing from fellowship or friendship groups is destined to (*a*) frustration incident to the struggle for power, or (*b*) ultimate dictatorship as the only means of reconciling conflicting interests or competing functional groups.

VIII. As we move steadily toward economic and social planning, the basic question arises: is it possible to elevate the role of primary groups to a higher level of consciousness? If so, should persons be trained for this purpose? (Note: Another way of asking this question might be: is it possible to bring the folk wisdom out of which the folkways emerge into closer harmony with the tested knowledge of science?)

These two final propositions scarcely require further explication. The first (VII) is an affirmation which needs to be tested in experience, and the second (VIII) marks the beginning of a fresh inquiry, namely an inquiry which leads to action rather than mere speculation.

Two brief final selections point up the problem for adult education and indicate a few of the priorities and directions which will be more fully explored in Chapter 3. The first is taken from Franklyn S. Haiman's *Group Leadership and Democratic Action.*[12]

. . . Democratic leadership, in its purest form, is only applicable in *face-to-face* situations where all members of the group are able to participate and express themselves fully. . . .

But there is a physical limit to the number of people who can work together conveniently at one time. Two thousand people meeting together in convention at the Chicago Stadium cannot possibly operate with the degree of democracy available in a hotel room to a discussion group of ten. The citizenry of many American cities cannot meet together at all because no gathering place is large enough to hold them. Even if there were such a place, the personal contacts could hardly be described as face-to-face.

The obstacle of numbers can be overcome only by compromising with democracy. We have done this in the United States, England and other "democracies" through the representative system, wherein a *spokesman-leader* is designated to represent the interests of a small group in an assembly of delegates from other small groups. This assembly, or legislature, may itself operate democratically *so far as the delegates are concerned,* but it can hardly be said that the common citizen has as much voice in his government as has the Congressman who represents him—and also represents 300,000 others. The representative system would be more democratic than it usually is if the representative actually came from face-to-face groups in the first place. Even that, however, would not solve the problem, for if the leader were completely bound by his group's decisions (like the Russian delegates to the U.N.) he could not operate openmindedly in the larger assembly. If he was not so bound, his own opinions and reactions would become more important than those of any member of his

group. This is an irreconcilable dilemma. It would seem that the advocates of decentralization and of the "back to small communities" movement in our country are correct in their assumption that such a program is necessary if we wish to achieve a greater degree of democracy than we now have.

The second selection is taken from Paul L. Essert's *Creative Leadership of Adult Education.*[13]

Laboratories in which adults can learn to practice the skills and attitudes of self-government and to strengthen the ties of close fellowship are most likely to be found in units of society that are decentralized, isolated, and relatively independent of other groups . . .

However, we have been moving away from such units and toward larger units of centralization of association. Interdependency of communities has become more the rule than independency. Expanded world trade, intensity and speed of communication, the rise of giant cities with their accompanying loss of community identification for millions of citizens, and the high degree of labor specialization which increasingly reduces the scope of one's occupational community, are some of the factors that tend to move us toward larger and more complex units of social, economic, and political relationships.

In this sense, we are people without communities. Therefore, we are without accessible, ready-made laboratories for developing experiences of close fellowship and self-government.

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. . . The problem, therefore, is to discover or establish new face-to-face community relationships that will supplement and counter the tendencies toward centralization, and through which the ordinary citizen can keep in touch with the major problems of a larger community and at the same time take an active part in developing his immediate environment. In brief, we need to discover or form new communities in which adults can experience self-government and close fellowship.

The Changing Role of the Individual

The social realities discussed thus far, and many of the selections quoted in this chapter, point up the changing role of the individual in modern society. Unfortunately, the changes that have taken place threaten to undermine the vitality of the American system instead of strengthening it. Few observers deny that both the quantity and quality of citizen participation in decision-making have

deteriorated. Some of the selections which follow testify to the political consequences of citizen apathy, withdrawal, and nonparticipation. Opinion and information polls demonstrate repeatedly not only a lack of knowledge about contemporary affairs but a deliberate withdrawal from activities that influence the making of policy decisions. Sixty-seven percent of adults surveyed express no ideas on how they as individuals can help to prevent a third world war. Only one in ten adults participates in organizations that have even a peripheral interest in world affairs. And so the facts accumulate.

Nonparticipation leads to psychological consequences which take the form of frustration, anxiety, introversion, and sheer loneliness. Sir John Maud, at the meeting of the UNESCO conference on adult education in Elsinore, Denmark, on June 21, 1949, said that the major significance of adult education is its power to free man from insignificance, from his sense of impotence and loneliness. He quoted A. E. Housman's lines

I, a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made

and urged upon the delegates the importance of small face-to-face groups as the most effective instruments through which the virility of a democratic society can be maintained.[14]

The reader will find in the following selections various hypotheses as to the cause of this changing role of the individual and the resulting phenomenon of declining participation and increasing psychological insecurity. Certainly a major factor in the situation is the gradual but inexorable shift of power from the individual to larger and larger social units. Another hypothesis is that man's basic needs for security, new experience, love, and recognition are more difficult to satisfy in the tempo of modern life and that hostile and aggressive behavior frequently results from the individual's failure to satisfy these needs. Another point of view is that Americans live under such a variety of assumptions which have in them so many elements of contradiction and ambivalence that conflict is almost certain to result.

Whatever the diagnosis, the condition of the patient can hardly be ignored by anyone in adult education who earnestly desires to meet basic human and social needs. The following selections, which complete our analysis of social realities that should affect the direction of adult education, are sufficiently complete and distinctive to require no transitional or interpretative comments on the part of the authors. They add up to an overwhelming case in behalf of an extended and improved program of adult education which in its impact upon the community and the nation can at least partly counteract some of the tendencies for which the following selections supply documentation.

First, from Charles W. Ferguson:[15]

Surely never before in the long and troubled history of the race has the plight of man been so apparent as it is today. There may have been times when matters stood worse, but few knew or cared. Now, even in the most favored nations, we can almost taste the world's misery in our daily bread.

This unprecedented awareness is one of the most obvious and, at the same time, one of the most overlooked features of our age. Although we become inured to the scareheads of the press and to the sonorous alarums of the radio, the sobering knowledge (reinforced by two world wars and the threat of a third) that distant occurrences may affect our lives as readily as a street brawl in front of our house has set off a whole new set of impulses among citizens everywhere.

Yet the gloomy fact remains that these new impulses have as yet found no concrete means of expression. The responses of the people have increased immensely; the responsiveness of our political system (even in the democracies) has increased not a whit. Indeed the citizen's opportunities for taking an active part in the major decisions that are made all about him have if anything lately diminished and, in one of the most crucial moments of history, he finds himself cut off from the very processes designed to control his destiny.

Government as an instrument remains where it was a hundred years ago in terms of its power to relay the popular will. Meanwhile, it has grown more and more restrictive in character. Government is something that is done to us, not something in which we have a creative part. Citizenship is largely a matter of paying taxes, getting licenses, standing in line, avoiding penalties, filling out forms. It does not occur to the common run of us that we can have any vital part in the conduct of public affairs. Political forces come to be looked upon as impersonal, and the result of the play of these forces comes to be regarded as "inevitable." To borrow a line from Sidney Wade, there appears to be little that any of us can do but stand around wringing our hands in bemused goodwill, while the rulers of humanity proceed with the carpentry of crucifixion.

Nor can it be denied that there is every ground for the feeling of helplessness and insignificance that prevails among ordinary people. Minority groups represented by energetic lobbies can occasionally give people a sense of power. Now and then popular movements geared to the moment can sweep the land and influence legislation. By and large, though, the average person remains an animated pawn, pinched and reminded daily of the world in which he exists, yet kept powerless to do anything about it.

The time has come to admit frankly that, under present circumstances, there is little the individual can do but go through the motions of protest. The truth of the business is that, if he is to have any responsible part in reconstituting his world, he must first of all change the circumstances.

The problem, in a word, is vastly deeper than achieving popular support for some political scheme. Instead of talking about the ways in which the individual

can influence his government, we must first consider ways and means by which the individual can change political and social procedures so that government will be susceptible to citizen influence. The limited and negative objective of preventing war will have to give way to a more ambitious and exacting program, with no less a goal than the full democratization of society.

Whether we move toward actual democracy is no longer a matter for theoretical discussion. It goes to the very heart of the world predicament. Conversion to the democratic idea among countries claiming to be democratic is a necessary prelude to any enlightened social effort in the future. The thing that matters supremely at this moment is to find and develop methods by which those of us who are ordinary citizens can assume some measure of control over the society of which we have become a passive part, can assert the authority and exercise the responsibility which, not only in government but in practically all departments of life, we have cavalierly delegated to others.

Three reasons underline the urgency of this step:

First, the present system of vestigial, makeshift authoritarianism known as democracy is without spiritual thrust or power. Of the two leading countries that call themselves democracies, Britain and the United States, one is in the doldrums and the achievements of the other can be passed over by critics as purely material and hence the product of special economic advantage. Under its present half-hearted acceptance, democracy has not much that is positive to offer in competition with other social philosophies or managerial schemes for society. In countries with democratic forms the emphasis falls almost entirely upon rights and freedoms. We are inclined to give a man the right to talk as much as he pleases and call the result democracy. Missing from our calculation is the view that regards democracy as a process by which all the people participate in deciding major issues that concern them.

It is in this respect that the little democracy we enjoy now is a dangerous thing. It gives us the illusion of reality. By calling ourselves democratic (instead of relatively democratic) we are led to suppose that we have perfected the process. We are thus put in the untenable position of defending the fraction for the whole, the name for the fact. Worse still, our present system has all the weaknesses of democracy and none of its creative strength. With its haphazard regard for old-fashioned liberty, it is open to dictatorial subterfuges and hence to the invasion of any ideology that parades as democratic. The gains and threats of Communists through infiltration into "key positions" of various organizations of the democracies are a commentary on the oligarchic manner in which these organizations are conducted.

Next, our present adulterated democracies continue to leave all important decisions to policy makers and bigwigs and thereby crowd into oblivion and impotence the vast bulk of the people. The practice of acting always from the top prevails not merely in government but in industry, education, charity, journalism

—through the whole course of what we call democratic society. The result is bound to be a progressive decay of function among citizens, an oppressive conviction of uselessness. As Toynbee puts it in speaking of the industrial proletariat, men are *in* society but not *of* it.

The staggering number of alcoholics and neurotics bears gruesome testimony to the kind of society we condone. An increasing host of men and women are treated as outcasts because they are no longer able to adjust to the requirements of a competitive industrialism. Given no sense of importance, no real opportunity for co-operative action, no adequate consciousness of group cohesion, they are driven more and more in upon themselves.

Less spectacular, but even more tragic, than the crowding of men and women out of the councils of society is the failure of our present undemocratic system to make full and extended use of human energies. In unions, churches, schools, offices, granges, clubs, industries, even in co-operatives, community organizations, and adult education associations, we find what Ritchie Calder has dubbed "the stage army of the good," an endless procession of worthy repeaters who turn up again and again in behalf of this and that worthy cause. Clear and fresh ideas could be had for the asking if only methods were worked out by which people could be given some sense of respectable participation rather than the mere right of rejection or consent to the actions of their social managers. What is usually laid at the door of human nature often properly belongs to our wanton neglect of the democratic process.

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Few in authority can appreciate the mixture of frustration and unchannelled enthusiasm that marks the common lot of us today. It is a tenuous and impending evil that bewilders us, assuming weird shapes like the face of a thunderhead. Some of these shapes are deceivingly familiar. At times the threat resembles the mien of Stalin set on a thick Russian bear. A moment later it has mushroomed into the phallic density that rose over Hiroshima. Again the cloud may spread itself like a map, while flashes symbolic of gunfire play along the edges of trouble spots around the globe.

Newspapers and magazines and books whirl before us a kaleidoscopic array of brightly colored issues. Our minds ricochet from the race problem to the housing problem, from the problem of foreign trade to the problem of displaced persons, from the British problem to the Russian problem to the Palestine problem to the problem of free enterprise. Woodrow Wilson once remarked, "By the time anything gets to me it's a problem." Today the public can say the same.

In spite of all the news that is forced upon us, however, it would seem that the more we know the less we can do. We become victims of a kind of political somnambulism, moving vaguely about at the mercy of events. Our consciousness often seems to be a consciousness of images rather than realities. For this reason a good deal of our excitement over current affairs often seems superficial

and bootless—and will prove to be unless we can bring our influence to bear upon events that bear incessantly in upon us.

Next, from Lawrence K. Frank:[16]

Adult men and women today are assailed on every side by anxiety and apprehension. Workers must face questions of conflicting loyalties to their fellow workers, their employers, their families, and their communities for which there are apparently no adequate ways of reconciliation. Employers likewise are torn by divergent interests and claims and find their social interests continually frustrated by the economic pressures they are under. Women are in a constant turmoil over their economic interests and their biological and psychological needs and are beset with insecurity within and without, so that they can give but little reassurance and comfort to their husbands and sons. No better indicators of this widespread and acute mental insecurity can be found than in the advertising and propaganda that is daily poured out in publications, movies, and radio, all designed to exploit this personal insecurity and intensify these anxieties in order to sell goods and services and influence behavior, to the ends sought by those who wish to profit from human unhappiness and distress. Evidence of general mental insecurity among men and women is also to be found in their leisure-time activities and amusements that are so largely escapes and anodynes. But the most important signs of mental insecurity among adults is the growing tendency to violence and brutality and willingness to surrender their freedom to the leaders who promise relief, no matter how fantastic and destructive their programs.

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From the viewpoint of mental security our social problems are not purely economic or political questions, but rather the results of distracted, unhappy personalities who are driven by their inner insecurity and guilt, like small children, to dominate, destroy, and otherwise prevent the creation of a decent social and economic life. Men cannot be socially-minded so long as they are mentally insecure, emotionally immature, and hostile. Man must accept himself and learn to live at peace with himself before he can be generous, tolerant, and altruistic.

Perhaps the nearest approach to a formulation that will embrace the many aspects of the question of mental security is to say that every individual is threatened with mental insecurity by uncertainty or confusion over the basic philosophical questions of life and his own status in life and by anxiety and guilt arising from his childhood experiences. Man has to feel he belongs in the world and belongs to something bigger than himself—family, nation, or race. Lacking a sense of belonging, of being wanted, and feeling guilty and unhappy, he is driven to hostility and aggressions that create most of our social problems because he must express somehow his inner distress and fears at whatever cost to society.

As we begin to accept these views of human nature and conduct, to see how distortions of personality give rise to antisocial behavior, to much illness and most mental disorders, a hopeful attitude toward the future becomes possible. We are not at the mercy of a human nature that is innately wicked, sinful, and destructive, but rather we suffer from the consequences of failing to provide affection, tenderness, reassurance, and toleration to children, adolescents, and adults, and freeing their aspirations for a better life. If we can and will provide affection and recognize each individual as a distinct, different person and foster his temperamental differences instead of frustrating them, most of the worst distortions and social conflicts will be relieved, if not eventually abolished. In this endeavor the schools should play a major part, but this step calls not so much for change in subject matter and pedagogical devices as for a warm, human concern and respect by teachers for the personality of the child and a recognition of the life concerns of the students as his most urgent educational need.

Robert S. Lynd has written as follows:[17]

As one begins to list the assumptions by which we Americans live, one runs at once into a large measure of contradiction and resulting ambivalence. This derives from the fact that these overlapping assumptions have developed in different eras and that they tend to be carried over uncritically into new situations or to be allowed to persist in long diminuendos into the changing future. Men's ideas, beliefs, and loyalties—their non-material culture—are frequently slower to be changed than are their material tools. And the greater the emotional need for them, the longer men tend to resist changes in these ideas and beliefs. These contradictions among assumptions derive also from the fact that the things the mass of human beings basically crave as human beings as they live along together are often overlaid by, and not infrequently distorted by, the cumulating emphases that a culture may take on under circumstances of rapid change or under various kinds of class control. In these cases the culture may carry along side by side both assertions: the one reflecting deep needs close to the heart's desire and the other heavily authorized by class or other authority.

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The following suggest some of these assumptions in American life:

1. The United States is the best and greatest nation on earth and will always remain so.

2. Individualism, "the survival of the fittest," is the law of nature and the secret of America's greatness; and restrictions on individual freedom are un-American and kill initiative.

But: No man should live for himself alone; for people ought to be loyal and stand together and work for common purposes.

3. The thing that distinguishes man from the beasts is the fact that he is rational; and therefore man can be trusted, if let alone, to guide his conduct wisely.

But: Some people are brighter than others; and, as every practical politician and businessman knows, you can't afford simply to sit back and wait for people to make up their minds.

4. Democracy, as discovered and perfected by the American people, is the ultimate form of living together. All men are created free and equal, and the United States has made this fact a living reality.

But: You would never get anywhere, of course, if you constantly left things to popular vote. No business could be run that way, and of course no businessman would tolerate it.

5. Everyone should try to be successful.

But: The kind of person you are is more important than how successful you are.

6. The family is our basic institution and the sacred core of our national life.

But: Business is our most important institution, and, since national welfare depends upon it, other institutions must conform to its needs.

7. Religion and "the finer things of life" are our ultimate values and the things all of us are really working for.

But: A man owes it to himself and to his family to make as much money as he can.

8. Life would not be tolerable if we did not believe in progress and know that things are getting better. We should, therefore, welcome new things.

But: The old, tried fundamentals are best; and it is a mistake for busybodies to try to change things too fast or to upset the fundamentals.

9. Hard work and thrift are signs of character and the way to get ahead.

But: No shrewd person tries to get ahead nowadays by just working hard, and nobody gets rich nowadays by pinching nickels. It is important to know the right people. If you want to make money, you have to look and act like money. Anyway, you only live once.

10. Honesty is the best policy.

But: Business is business, and a businessman would be a fool if he didn't cover his hand. . . .

And from Leland P. Bradford:[18]

We have been greatly concerned in recent years over citizen apathy throughout the country. . . . Crime and power frequently bed together, the result of

lack of citizen vigilance. Entertainment palaces are filled, but meetings to consider citizen affairs are largely empty.

On the other hand, the citizen feels ever more remote from civic, national and international affairs. How can he tell the consequence of his single vote? What can he do, anyway, against organized groups? If he writes a letter of protest to his government, who reads the letter? Some clerk who is equally powerless? Even if his letter is answered by his Congressman, what is the effect of his voice against the many powerful interests reaching his representative? What can his organization or group do against larger, organized, and often hidden, forces on the national level? What is there he can do? Why try?

In each case the citizen's opportunity for participation is limited because he has no feed-back on his participation. In a sense his actions merge into a system so complex that he has no clear way of knowing what happens. He can be told that if a million citizens each wrote protesting a national decision this combined voice would be effective. But a million people is an abstraction to him. He cannot see their actions and the results. Primarily he cannot see results from his own actions. So apathy and indifference result.

Malcolm S. MacLean has described the special problems of the atomic age in the following terms:[19]

The test of each of us citizens lies in finding by all means known to us the middle road of sanity between the outer fringes of hysteria and dull despair. It lies in each of us struggling to pull the weight of our own and our neighbor's feeling and opinion into these middle roads. It lies in setting up the heavy leaden shields of reason to deny and prohibit the chain reactions of human prejudices, fantasy and panic from exploding into war and destruction. Danger of such explosion lies, it seems clear, in the fact that an increasingly great minority of our citizens are mentally and emotionally sick, and growing numbers seem to be susceptible to such illness. Psychiatrists estimate that one in twenty of our citizens must be hospitalized with one form or another of insanity, and that one in ten will sometime be so disturbed as to need skilled therapy. Most researchers agree that this rapid growth of madness arises in large measure from the fears, frustrations and tensions of social change bred by science and technology. They think that our human adaptability has not kept pace with shifts from muscle power thru steam to electric and now atomic energy. Each change has brought in its wake a veering in our ways of thinking, acting and feeling. We have moved from the insulated calm of farmlands to the turmoil of great cities; from a majority of children and young folk to a preponderance of oldsters; from the soft sounds of bird calls, lowing cattle and splashing streams

to the roar of a million motors, the jangling of a billion bells, the scream of fire, police and ambulance sirens; and from the safety of intimate knowledge of a few friendly neighbors to the insecurity of ignorance, hostility or indifference of many masses of folk jammed in slums, theatres or claustrophobic apartment cells. Under the impact of these accumulations of noise, movement, machines and people, disintegration sets in. Solid cores of values crumble, conflicts replace stability and bewilderment overcomes understanding.

. . . Some escape into schizophrenic fantasy. They bury fear in the subconscious. They tuck away in dark dungeons of the mind the memories of the late war, of Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini and all that went before. They create dreams of extravagant bounties pouring from atomic energy. They vision a brave new and shining world, a world to come almost at once, maybe tomorrow, surely by next year. In it the nations of the earth are united as brothers and sisters of a healthy, happy, understanding family. Their differences are a source of delight and affection; not of suspicion and hatred. In such a world atomic energy, they fancy, will bring all its powers to bear to fully feed, warmly clothe, adequately house us all in "dream homes"—tomorrow. In that fantasy, all the diseases, from the polio and rheumatic fevers that destroy children to the ruptured hearts and the cancers of old age, will vanish. Wages will be high and prices low. Life, they dream, will be so abundant and beautiful that there can be nothing to fight against. There will be war no more.

On the other outer fringe of lunacy, other citizens are driven by their fears of atomic weapons into either a paralysis of despair or a frenzied compulsive activity. They look out upon the new world with horror. They see the nations of the world plunging towards destroying conflict, a war that is boiling up out of deep suspicion and deeper hatred. Some are cynically laying bets that we will be at war with Russia in six months, or five years. They expect that such war will end in utter ruinous stalemate with most of us dead, many of the rest dying a lingering and painful death, and a few survivors, driven from the polluted waters and poisoned lands to desert and mountain fastnesses, there to grub out a miserable bestial existence. Some of these take refuge in a sort of catatonic inactivity, hoping the worst will come soon so they may get it over with. Others feverishly and angrily try to precipitate the last great and, to them inevitable, explosion by shouting from platforms, bawling into microphones their frantic nightmares of red menaces, iron curtains, international conspiracies, national, racial and sectarian plottings. They hunt witches. They "investigate." They blame, they bleat and roar in fury. They demand we use atomic bombs "while the using is good." They would stampede us into disaster, and press out the bloody juices of time before her fruits are ripe for pressing. They would proselyte us and convert us to their madness.

Next, a quotation from Wilbur C. Hallenbeck:[20]

The first psychological characteristic of present-day people which works against participation is the sense of isolation. Specialized occupations and individual interests tend to draw people into themselves and to separate them from others. Even families with each member pursuing his or her own concerns find great difficulty in keeping together under these circumstances. Associations with others must be made on the initiative and effort of the individual and often they are costly in time and money. There is no real feeling of community. The machinery of community life upon which the individual daily depends is taken for granted, but seldom thought of as anything in which he is directly concerned. The anonymity of city life separates the individual from the influence of community mores and the support of conventional patterns of ethics and throws him on his own resources and responsibilities, a strain which many find difficult to meet.

People have a sense of frustration. They realize that they are surrounded with controls and forces with which they cannot cope. Bigness and remoteness put the forces which mold their lives beyond their reach. Nothing is more disillusioning or disheartening than to realize that one can do nothing about the things which affect his life.

Out of isolation and frustration comes fear. Fear that one will lose his job; fear of sickness and accident; fear that something will happen to disrupt the precarious balance of living; fear of other kinds of people, especially those who personalize the forces which control living; fears that merchants or others will "skin" them; fears for the loyalty of friends; and many more. A social worker in New York told of a Puerto Rican woman on relief who was made the representative of her group at a large banquet attended by people of wealth and high social status and well-educated professional people. She became so emotionally upset that she could not eat or enjoy the occasion; in fact, she actually became ill.

And, lastly, from Jaime Torres Bodet:[21]

Suppose we have a group of adults to educate—workers or peasants, craftsmen, bureaucrats or soldiers. With any ideal group with which we have to deal, what should be the problem of prime concern to us? Differences of temperament, as with children? Differences of vocation, as with young people? Certainly, temperament and vocation are factors that no teacher, lecturer or artist approaching an adult public should ignore. But what he should have in mind

before all else is the spiritual loneliness in which each member of his audience is always living. Rarely has this loneliness been so formidable, so complete and so unrecognized as in the world of today. The child lives within its childishness as in a protective atmosphere. The youth comes to know himself more with every adventure in which his feelings or his intellect are involved, and rejoices, sometimes in spite of sorrow, in his discovery of himself. But the adult has no place of refuge. Cut off from others of his generation by the relentless uniqueness of his destiny, and from his own conscience by his fear of seeing himself in it as he really is, stripped of all gloss or illusion, the adult has only two courses open to him—either to remain himself, isolating himself from the multitude, or to give up his individuality and to submit to the impersonal will of the masses. Even for the genius, absolute loneliness is a termless punishment. What then shall we say of the absolute loneliness of the ordinary man? Yet his merging in the mass would mean no less than a cruel renunciation of his very nature as a man.

In the face of this loneliness or this renunciation, adult education should be based on the idea that necessarily underlies every international institution—the brotherhood of human destiny.

We have identified four among many possible features of our contemporary society which have especial significance for the new and growing movement of adult education in the United States. These characteristic social trends cannot be ignored by adult educators if the programs which they plan and initiate or the processes they employ are to make any important contribution to the efficient functioning of the citizen as he, singly or in cooperation with his fellows, attempts to deal with "the pervasive fact of change." Some of the priorities and directions which this kind of analysis seems to make imperative are discussed in Chapter 3.

PRIORITIES AND DIRECTIONS

3

AS WE HAVE SUGGESTED EARLIER, the worker in adult education individually and in cooperation with his colleagues should make an independent analysis of the social situation as it was described in Chapter 2 and come to his own conclusions about the implications for priorities and directions in the field of adult education. This chapter suggests three of the questions to which positive answers can be found: (1) Can we improve the participation and problem-solving skills of the adult citizen? (2) Can we strengthen face-to-face groups? and (3) Can we develop an expanding concept of the community?

Can We Improve the Participation and Problem-solving Skills of the Adult Citizen?

To be socially significant in these times, an adult-education movement must make some contribution to the improvement of both the quantity and quality of citizen participation in the solution of individual and social problems. The trend toward declining citizen participation, which was indicated by the selections presented in Chapter 2, can be reversed and the vitality of the democratic system restored. Some idea of the magnitude of the task thus proposed for adult education is gained from the selection from Malcolm S. MacLean:[1]

The role of the citizen in the atomic age must be, I think, a variable role. Citizens differ. From whatever angle we view ourselves these differences between men show up as sharply as those of ant hill and craggy tor. Individually we range from dull stupidity to shining wisdom, from poverty to wealth, from criminal cunning to saintly beneficence, from parasitic dependence to high competence and self-sufficiency. We differ in the things we do. American men and women today perform on the order of 50,000 different tasks. We citizens fish, forge, farm and fly. We paint, pray, preach and plunder. We teach, travel, test and talk. We dig, dance, dredge and decorate. We do these jobs and thousands more to earn our livelihoods. It is the glory of democracy that we can, as free men, do these things and so employ our variant skills in satisfaction to ourselves and service to other men.

It is another glory of democracy that, when we are beset by a common fear or uplifted by a common hope, or both together, we can pull all our differences into a common effort towards a common end. We unite ourselves by means of the democratic process of free discussion, negotiation and compromise. Learning to live with atomic energy offers us at last a supreme test of this process both in the little confines of our communities and in the vast stretches of our peopled world.

George B. de Huszar, of the University of Chicago, believes that the processes of a dynamic democracy can be learned and mastered by the average citizen. He calls this kind of democracy "do democracy" as contrasted with "talk democracy" or "consent democracy."[2]

. . . This trend toward centralization can be counterbalanced if we supplement consent-democracy by do-democracy. For much can be done by ourselves, by concrete and habitual actions in our daily life. Citizens fulfill their function not merely by voting, but also by participating in the affairs of their nation actively and creatively.

Do-democracy is not based on listening or talking, nor on "counting noses": *It is based on participation, facing problems together.* Creative participation by intelligent human beings in the ongoing process of society is essential to the general welfare. Thus the problem of democracy is not merely how to obtain consent, but also, how to create opportunities for participation and a determination to participate.

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Do-democracy, based on genuine participation, leads to a type of organization where there is a place for the creative activity of all. Organization from above

tends to be authoritarian while organization from within tends to be democratic, relying on the free interplay of the participants. *The warm, personal, satisfying human relationships that develop when men join together in groups has the power to change the spirit and form of the artificial up-down-system that makes so many of our institutions so formal and verbal.*

. . . society, as we have agreed, is the result of the interaction of individuals and groups. None of us are really members of society, rather we are members of groups: our family, profession, club, and church. *Since the health of the whole is determined by the health of the parts, what you do in your immediate environment will help the total situation.* Since your family, business and community are a part of the nation, what you do to build democracy there, will spread and ramify. As far as you are concerned, the confusion and disintegration from which the world suffers starts right where you are. Instead of looking elsewhere, why not look within our institutions, within our communities? To do this is to be practical and realistic. . . .

Increased participation and improvement in problem-solving skills are easy to talk about but difficult to achieve in practice. In his annual report for 1947,[3] Leland P. Bradford, Director of the Division of Adult Education Services for the National Education Association, points up some of the problems that adult education will have to face:

Many community ventures not only have failed but in their very failure have prevented further attempts. Too frequently, there have been well-meaning persons, essentially unskilled and insensitive to the delicate human relational factors in the situation, who succeeded only in building up greater barriers to ultimate accomplishment. This not too uncommon event indicates an added responsibility on the part of those concerned with community work. It highlights the need for community participants and leaders to be competent in the skills of knowing when to tackle a particular problem, how to discover those individuals of real community power, how to involve more and more individuals thru real opportunities for successful participation in community ventures, and how to uncover and build upon the natural and existing groupings in any community.

The success of democratic movements depends not only on trained and skilled leaders but also on trained and skilled participants. Yet little has been done to help the adults in a community prepare themselves for leadership and participancy in community groups.

One major area of adult education thus should be that of serving adult groups and organizations thru training in leadership and participancy skills and thru consultation on the problems and methods of group work and discussion method.

This area should be recognized as of equal or greater importance to that area concerned with the teaching of subject content.

At the 1950 annual meeting of the American Association for Adult Education, ten conference subgroups discussed the problem of participation in public affairs and its relationship to adult-education programs. The editor of *Adult Education*, Robertson Sillars, attempted a summary of these subgroup discussions, and a part of his statement follows:[4]

What, then, should adult educators do to improve the level of participation in public affairs?

* * *

1. The educational program should be developed for and with the participation of some group. The group should be defined by a consciousness of common needs and interests.

2. The aim of the educational process should be to enable the group to formulate and achieve its goals.

3. Since the factors involved in recommendations one and two—perception of common interests and needs and groups goals—are in process of continuous change, the discovery and redefinition of interests and needs, the reformulation of goals, the discovery and testing of means of achieving them, and the evaluation of these activities, should also be continuous. It is in the continuity and continuous evaluation of all phases of the educational process that growth occurs—growth in interests, in adequacy of perception of needs, in adequacy and inclusiveness of goals, in the skills of cooperative inquiry, planning and action.

4. Because the continuity of the educational process is contingent on the satisfactions and successes achieved by the group and its members, care should be taken to test proposed activities against the following criteria: (*a*) Will the probable results satisfy the expectations that motivate the group activity? (*b*) Will each member of the group be able to participate in the activity with satisfaction?

If the results expected are beyond the group's present level of competence, or if each group member cannot experience the satisfaction of making his individual contribution to the group's progress, then the activity, the manner in which it is conducted, or both, are not educationally suitable.

5. Information-giving and skill-training should be included in the program when and as they are required to meet specific needs arising in the course of the group's activities.

6. Communication materials should be created or selected with reference to the experience backgrounds of the group members.

These recommended principles of public affairs adult education program

development do not, of course, tell us what to do in any precise, operational sense. They do, however, suggest (*a*) directions in which we should move and (*b*) some questions that we might ask ourselves in examining present activities and plans. Phrased as questions, the six principles can be expressed as follows:

1. Do the adults we are trying to educate constitute a group aware of common interests and needs? Do they participate actively in the planning of their own learning activities?

2. Does our program attempt to enable the group to formulate and achieve its aims?

3. Are all phases of the program subject to change in response to continuous evaluation?

4. Does the program provide successes and satisfactions for the group and its members that are sufficient to provide motivation for continuing participation?

5. Are information-giving and skill-training introduced in response to needs felt by the group in the course of its activities?

6. Are the communication materials used suitable to the experience background of the group?

If we were to ask these questions about most of our public affairs adult education programs, we would be forced either to answer them negatively—or what is more likely—to admit that we have no way of knowing what the answers are. Perhaps the greatest value of the conference discussions was that they served to point out those aspects of adult education programs that are crucial to success or failure, and, thus, to suggest criteria by which to study and evaluate our efforts.

Can We Strengthen Face-to-face Groups?

Chapter 2 presented material which indicated the importance of the small primary, or face-to-face, group in our cultural pattern and the rather rapidly declining importance of these face-to-face groups in American life. It is the contention of the authors that healthy, functioning face-to-face groups are essential to the security of the individual and to the preservation of democratic values in our society. This point of view was documented in the preceding chapter. If it is correct, the strengthening of face-to-face groups should be one of the high-priority tasks of adult education.

Perhaps the first step toward the strengthening of such primary groups is to get a clearer understanding of how they form and develop. The following selection, by Paul L. Essert and Coolie Verner,[5] is concerned with these matters.

It is evident that informal groups perform an important function in the life of the community, for they are a means of integrating isolated individuals. They

come into existence in response to a universal human need, in the *proximity* of isolated individuals at work or at home, under the *circumstances* of repeated contacts of the same individuals, and through the specific *personality attraction* of these individuals for one another.

Some clues to the problem of participation in organized institutional programs are obtained from the process of the formation of these informal groups, for it is evident that they are formed around personalities. This factor in the natural grouping of people is often neglected and thus is one of the limitations to forming groups around interests. Institutional programs, then, to achieve more widespread acceptance must be designed to serve the existing group on its own level and in terms of its own interests. Formalized interest-centered groups will perhaps appeal to those who attend on an individual basis, but exclude those who enjoy the associations in their own group and are reluctant to leave it to participate individually. Institutions, then, should be concerned with providing situations in which natural groups can develop, for in this way the individual will learn along with those with whom he associates normally. Within this permissive environment the institution can assist in enlarging the scope and significance of the group by giving it a chance to operate within the framework of the institution. This should encourage participation in broader concerns without disrupting the basic personality attraction which holds the group together.

In their developmental process these groups follow a distinct pattern. Beginning as a *collection of individuals* meeting by chance at the same time and place, they grow, by the repetition of such meetings, into a habit group which continues the association by choice. In time, such a *habit group* may see within its relationships certain common goals which might be achieved cooperatively, thus making it a *purpose group.*

As the group structure is formed and crystallized, so are group interests expanded. At first these groups are more or less self-centered, with activities limited to their members. In time they may expand into broadened interests in and concern for social and civic responsibilities. This development is slow, generally moves from self-centeredness into contact with other informal groups, and may ultimately broaden into relationships with institutional programs. Such expanding interest is related to the length of time the group has been together, the economic and educational levels of its members, and prior institutional associations. In their evolving sophistication these groups are found to move naturally into wider involvement in community affairs. An understanding of this aspect of the process of group formation is imperative if they are to participate in institutional or community programs. Group involvement will depend upon the level of interests, and the wise professional will adapt his program accordingly.

These groups, at any level, engage in a variety of activities determined for the most part by common interests, and range from those designed purely for pleasure to those resulting in economic profit for members. Such activities involve

a degree of organization and formalization resulting in designated responsibilities for each member. From the pursuit of these activities and the mechanism necessary to achieve them comes a functional organization that is patterned largely on previous experiences of members. This, however, occurs only after the need for such structuring is recognized by the group as an essential expedient for the achievement of its purposes. The pursuit of these activities and the resultant organization provide significant experiences in participation that are fundamental training for the larger areas of community life.

From this growing knowledge of autonomous group life it becomes obvious that newer approaches to the active involvement of people in community functions are necessary. Institutions must rethink their role and develop new relationships between themselves and the people they are created to serve. Leadership must think in terms of service to groups of individuals on their own terms according to their sophistication, rather than of service through programs that are planned for individuals. To achieve this the adult educator must acquire intimate knowledge of the informal group life in his community and establish a confident personal relationship with group members. Existing group activities must be weighted in terms of the total educational process and institutional resources must be designed to enrich these experiences.

Further information in regard to the characteristics of face-to-face groups is given in the following material by Maria Rogers.[6]

Dr. Helen Jennings, the psychologist . . . recently made a study of the definitive differences between such [face-to-face] groups in structure and function. In her terminology, groups formed for a specific, conscious purpose are "sociogroups"; groups based on congeniality are "psychegroups." Among other differences between the two types, these are most significant: Psychegroups provide individuals with the experience of "emotional response." They thus contribute directly to psychic security and are therefore indispensable for healthy community life. Sociogroups, on the other hand, do not provide this experience because attention is centered on an abstraction—the job to be performed. When psychegroups arise in sociogroups, they may be a positive handicap to achievement of the consciously selected goal. Psychegroups are structured around spontaneously chosen natural leaders who aid the members to achieve psychic security. Leaders of sociogroups, on the other hand, are consciously selected for ability to forward the announced purposes of their organizations.

The differences in structure and function between the two types of groups make it imperative that educators adopt different methods in dealing with them. In the case of autonomous groups, or psychegroups, *service must be a two-way*

process. Educators must approach them with full realization that they can, and will, provide many services for themselves and that they have great resources (however invisible to superficial observation) to mobilize on their own initiative. Servicing sociogroups need not be a two-way process and commonly is not. They submit without much resistance to authoritarian procedures.

Psychegroups arise in all educational institutions and administrators of formal educational institutions ignorant of their significance usually tend either to ignore psychegroups among students, exhibit hostility towards them and attempt to destroy them, or to drive them "underground." As psychegroups are essential for mental health, all educational agencies have the responsibility for creating an atmosphere in which they can form and function freely, and for discovering ways in which their creative energy can be integrated with the educational program.

An additional argument for hospitality to psychegroups is that in such groups, ideas attractive to individuals are put into practice and imitation and mutual interest reinforce learning, thus making education vital. The isolated individual who learns something in a classroom may never put it into practice, thus nullifying the education process. To respect the integrity of the individual's group relationships is acknowledged to be in some respects a novel concept of educational method.

It is perhaps worth noting that the public library, an informal educational agency, has gone further than any other educational institution in developing the implications of this method.

Work with autonomous groups need not supplant the conventional type of adult education which recruits students by an appeal to "interests" or objective "purposes." But adult educators should regard work with autonomous groups as one of their major goals, for it provides the opportunity to place our educational resources at the disposal of vast numbers of people who will never attend formal classes nor join sociogroups. By fostering and aiding autonomous groups, educators can make adult education a genuinely "democratic" institution serving the social, intellectual and emotional growth of individuals in the environment most congenial to such growth. They will thus align themselves with the natural forces in each community upon which free societies depend for their strength.

It is possible that one of the reasons why adult education, up to the present moment, has made but limited use of the small, informal face-to-face group is that few leaders have been trained to work with such groups. On the whole, professionals think in terms of working with "classes," with individuals who are strangers to one another and whose only bond of association is a common subject-matter interest. Leland Bradford,[7] in the following selection, points out our weakness in this area.

Perhaps the basic problem of adult education is that of educating adults for group work. We have educated people as individuals and expected them to perform successfully in a society that is primarily one of group complexity. With little formal effort to give individuals training and experience in group living, we have thrown them into family groups, vocational groups, neighborhood groups, community groups, national and international groups. Everywhere we see the results in family problems, delinquency, labor difficulties, and national and international problems. The most difficult problems we face today are essentially group problems. They are major problems primarily because we have not been taught the skills of working as groups toward the solution of group problems.

There are many reasons why we have done so little to prepare people for group work. Chief among them is our basic misunderstanding of maturity. We have traditionally thought that the height of maturity was the ability of the individual to stand alone, to be completely independent, rather than to achieve that greater strength of being able to work equally with others. Independence has great limitations and weaknesses, particularly when the complexity of problems demands solutions beyond the ability of the individual. Independence connotes a ceiling on production determined by the limitations of the individual and suggests, in the final analysis, the crossing of conflicting aims and interests of separate individuals.

We are beginning to see that the highest level of maturity is the ability to work and to share with others. We are beginning to realize that interdependence demands varying abilities on the part of each member, and not the dependence of weak members on the strong. We are beginning to understand that interdependence does not enslave the individual or limit his freedom, but rather widens his abilities and enlarges his freedom as he voluntarily joins with others to solve those group problems which now prevent him from realizing his potential individual powers. We are beginning to accept the process of group discussion and group work as the process of democracy.

The main problem before us is the development and understanding of all necessary skills in order that we may help people find solutions to their group problems.

A major portion of Chapter 14, which deals with methods, is concerned with the type of skills just referred to.

One of our great national adult-education agencies has been doing the very thing Bradford indicates as necessary for adult educators—namely, going out among the many groups in the community to help them in their group problems. This has been one of the fundamental procedures used by the Cooperative

Agricultural and Home Economics Service of the Department of Agriculture from its inception. In its 1951 annual report, it indicates that its most widely used method was personal contact. The number of personal contacts made by county agents alone was more than 20 million. An amazing annual total of 3,744,000 farm and home visits were made.

Our discussion in Chapter 2 of the decline in importance of the face-to-face group pointed out that the mass media were partly responsible. It seems that the newspaper, the radio, and motion pictures have had a tendency to break down primary groups by providing information and entertainment to individuals as isolated units, either in their own homes or in a mass (crowd) situation. There are those who feel that these same mass media which have tended to disrupt face-to-face groups can by intelligent planning be transformed into agencies which will stimulate and strengthen face-to-face groups. Morse A. Cartwright[8] argues this point as follows:

> . . . the mass media need not be misused. In print, in film and by radio, full and free discussion can be fostered and made to pay dividends in clarified public thinking. Even practical unanimity can be achieved, given time, patience and skill in the presenting of issues. True it is that the techniques for such free use of the media are undeveloped as yet. But discussion programs on the air, based on motion pictures, and grounded in pamphlet, newspaper and even book print are growing in use and in popularity. They provide the sole way out of the dangerous propaganda morass into which we have floundered. Political frustration we may suffer from at the moment, but there is no reason to believe our people lacking in the brains necessary to a constructive political use of the new media available to them.
>
> If Americans as a people found their way, through that frank and free interchange which is the essence of the discussion method, to utilize as a democratic process the Seventeenth Century town meeting, the Eighteenth Century agricultural and mechanical institute, the Nineteenth Century lyceum, chautauqua and free library, then surely there is reason to believe that they will solve the problems of Twentieth Century invention in mass communication in like manner. For the ecclesiastical high priests of Protestantism and Puritanism attempted—and failed—to dominate the town meeting. The high priests of vocationalism attempted—and failed—to confine the agricultural and mechanical institute to mere training in skills for the bulk of the population, as witness our system of secondary and higher education and their popularity with the people today. And our whole system of present day organizational discussion in the community may be said to derive from the examples of the lyceum, the chautauqua and the public library.

The way out lies in immediate increase of the opportunities for free discussion, organized and controlled by the people themselves under educational leadership of their own choosing. When this need is recognized as equal to or transcending in importance other matters relating to the safety and the welfare of the republic—and to the world community in which the republic has its being—then the United States will be enabled to compose its domestic differences in orderly and constructive fashion. And for the first time in recent years, it will find itself equipped to speak internationally in tones of compelling logic and reality.

Finally, under a democratic system in the long run there can be no exclusive aristocracy of brains and intellect guiding the use of the mass media of communication for the exploitation through propaganda of the masses. There can only be individuals possessing freedom of choice, solid in their opposition to outside manipulation, strong in their belief in true educational processes, and adamant in their insistence on a rule of reason permitting all sides of all questions to be examined. These individuals will insist on the constructive use of the mass media in continual and widespread education for democracy.

Herein lies the kernel of the American case *for* freedom of thought and *against* totalitarianism.

In other sections of this volume will be found reports of several pioneering projects in the use of mass media to stimulate face-to-face discussion groups. At this point attention should be called to the National Farm Radio Forum of Canada, which is a challenging example of how a mass medium can strengthen face-to-face groups. The following selection was written by Ruth I. McKenzie.[9]

The farmers of Canada have something that the farmers of no other country have. They have their own nation-wide radio forum programme. Through National Farm Radio Forum all the farmers of Canada can sit down each Monday night at one big meeting, as it were, and get acquainted with each other, exchange ideas, and tackle their common problems together.

Although Farm Forum is national in scope, it is rooted in the farm community, in small neighborhood meetings like the one described below.

The yard was lit up by the high beacon-light between house and barn as we drove up the lane. Lights shone from the windows of the big farmhouse and two or three cars were parked in the yard. Snow was falling and threatened to make driving difficult on the way home.

"Oh well, there's a shovel and some old sacks in the back," said John Bennett, "I guess we'll manage all right."

"If we get stuck there'll be lots of others to keep us company," laughed Mrs. Bennett.

Cheery hellos greeted us as we entered the big kitchen where several people were sitting around chatting.

Men and women (some accompanied by small children) continued to come until the kitchen was crowded. But everybody stayed there because that's where the radio was.

Finally the host of the evening said, "Well I guess it's time for the broadcast." As he turned on the radio, the chatter died away. "This is National Farm Radio Forum," said the announcer. Then we heard the familiar theme song, "Men of the Soil."

The broadcast was a dramatized one on the subject "Is Farm Income Used Efficiently?" Chuckles were heard and glances were exchanged with nodding of heads as the farmer and his wife in the radio drama argued whether they should spend precious money on plumbing for the house or a new tractor. In twenty-five minutes the dramatization was over and a new voice—that of the Provincial Farm Forum Secretary—was heard reporting the findings of the previous week's group discussions.

Then the radio was turned off, and the chatter started up again. But not for long. The Chairman of the group stood up.

"Ladies and gentlemen," he said, "There are nineteen of us here to-night so I guess we'll have two groups. I'll number you one-two-one-two, and the one's can go into the living-room. The two's can stay here. Each group will appoint its own chairman and secretary as usual."

Pretty soon the two groups were sitting in a circle each in its own room, and they quickly appointed a chairman to lead the discussion, and a secretary to take notes. Everyone pulled out his copy of "Farm Forum Guide" and turned to the inside page where the discussion questions were listed. The broadcast had started people thinking and they launched right into the discussion in a lively but good-natured fashion. It was hard to get them to stop discussing one question and start on the next.

In about an hour's time the two groups came together again and the Forum Chairman called for reports on the discussion. On two of the questions there was general agreement but on the third they could not agree. They argued about it for a while and finally agreed to disagree.

Then followed a brief business meeting after which the recreation leader got everybody playing games until "lunch" was served. The Forum Secretary, however, busied herself writing up the "Forum Findings" to send to the Provincial Farm Forum Office.

At 11:30 the meeting was over and by midnight the last friendly neighbour had driven his car down the lane and into the snowy night.

Meetings like this were held in over a thousand farmhouses across Canada on that same evening—and on every Monday evening from the first of November to the end of March throughout the winter months. Fruit and dairy farmers of the Maritimes and British Columbia, "mixed" farmers of Central Canada, wheat

farmers of the West, all find in National Farm Radio Forum a social outlet as well as a means of studying and solving together some of the problems that face farmers to-day.

Can We Develop An Expanding Concept of the Community?

The preceding parts of this chapter have dealt with the problem of the face-to-face groups. We see intelligence as a social function, nurtured by the stimulations that come through shared experiences. We recognize the need to improve our skills, particularly in tying discussion to action. This calls for a consideration of the framework within which the face-to-face groups can operate most effectively.

This framework we see as the local community, but our interpretation of the community will be one which takes account of an increasingly interdependent economy. This interdependence means that many of the important decisions which could once be made in the local community are now made elsewhere. We cannot expect an answer to today's problems in yesterday's communities, although they can give us faith in the vitality of the democratic process. We shall need to build new patterns which will enable us to relate the face-to-face discussions from many communities to the final decision-making process.

The goal, then, is to devise a way of working which ensures the greatest possible participation of each citizen. Such participation has two requirements: (1) It must have real, identifiable consequences. (2) It must provide opportunity for considered judgment.

Token ballots may be satisfactory in totalitarian states, but they are not in democracies. The great strength in the old town meeting was the feeling of the members that *they* were making the decisions. Today, in an impersonal, urban economy, we have lost much of this feeling and we seek to find its modern equivalent.

If our actions are to have real consequences, we want what we do to be worthy of the responsibilities we carry. If there are to be no token tallies, there can be no snap judgments. A democratic society will survive only if it is really effective in competition with other kinds of societies. We seek the combined judgments of thousands of citizens because we believe there is strength in such composite decisions. This strength can come only when there is a sound basis for the individual's participation.

A system which gives citizens real responsibilities on which to use their best judgments will need to consider the various factors which make the democratic process strong. It is one of the duties of an adult education movement to help in such continuous study. This duty has been accepted by the AEA, and a Commit-

tee on Social Philosophy is taking the lead in developing wide participation among adult leaders. The analysis of the committee will be found on pages 496-500.

The points listed here are not all the possible ones, but they will illustrate our approach to the community basis for adult education. Important in ensuring a sound community program are:

a. Determining priorities to get a manageable number of issues to which the citizens can direct themselves.

b. Agreeing on a division of responsibilities so that maximum fact-finding is achieved.

c. Working out ways to combine the efforts of various work groups both at the local and at successively higher levels.

d. Establishing channels through which the combined efforts can reach the appropriate decision points.

e. Protecting the rights of minority groups.

PRIORITIES. At any specific time, each of us is sensitive to a number of problems, many of which are likely to be matters of importance. These current concerns will be in competition with one another and with the routine duties of daily living. One of the major factors responsible for public inaction in relation to such matters is the sense of hopelessness that comes from wondering how one can possibly deal with the host of current affairs, most of them matters of great complexity. We need to find ways of establishing priorities so that each of us feels that he is undertaking a limited number of problems, which he has some chance of solving.

The determination of priorities calls for an understanding of the major issues underlying the individual decisions that the community is called upon to make. This identification of issues is the kind of service to which education is eminently qualified to contribute. At the present time, however, communities have no way of getting such help. Community councils and other central bodies should be helped to experiment in this area. Colleges should become a major resource.

The problem of distinguishing between matters of policy and matters of administration arises in every field of human endeavor. For example, one of the factors that have made cooperation between laymen and professionals difficult in educational planning has been the confusion on this point. The fact that it is annoying to the professional to have the layman attempt to interfere in matters of administration is probably in the long run less serious than the waste and frustration that results to the layman in endeavoring to deal with the wrong questions. In emphasizing the need for clarification of policy issues, we recognize fully the fact that policy achieves its meaning through the specific situations. No complete separation is intended, but there are differences in emphasis which are important.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES. Once a community has selected the issues on which it proposes to concentrate over a set period of time, the next step is

to develop a pattern of assigning responsibilities among the citizenry so as to permit specialization on specific problems, with a means of reporting back to the total group. If a community is working on fifteen problems for the coming year, it needs to have a way of allowing groups and individuals in the community to choose which of the fifteen they wish to pursue intensively. It would be the task of persons making such a choice to assemble the maximum possible information on the major issues and the most effective arguments. The persons would then need a way of reporting back to the total group so that all persons could participate in the final policy decision. Essentially this is an effort to adapt to the community situation the types of procedure that such bodies as the U.S. Congress use to get their work done.

COMBINING GROUPS. Our methods of combining the judgments of various groups tend on the whole to be rather makeshift. We need something that will serve our more complicated industrial society in the same way that town meetings served the frontier society. One of the possibilities which might well be experimented with by adult-education groups in various communities is a technique of having a central committee which can organize the contributions of various small discussion groups in order to bring out the points of agreement and disagreement. These points of agreement and disagreement can then be referred back for further action by each group. These revised judgments can be collated into a statement which represents the thinking of the community at that particular stage. It would be clearly understood that this could be reviewed from time to time, as we review all important issues. Similar procedures can be used at state and national levels to bring together the ideas of various localities.

CHANNELS. Another basic need, if the community approach is to be effective, is that of identifying the actual decision points and establishing ways by which groups operating as outlined above can bring their thinking to the consideration of the persons with the responsibility for decisions. This might be illustrated in the case of a board of education as follows: The board, assisted by its chief administrative officer and his staff, would identify the major issues which are most pertinent in the period ahead. These could then be presented to citizen groups with a request that the groups study these and report back to the board. The board, after taking account of the suggestions from the groups, would formulate a proposed policy, with an opportunity for one or more hearings at which the groups might have a chance to discuss the matter further.

MINORITY RIGHTS. The procedures just described have been focused on the problem of the more effective ways of reaching consensus. In most cases consensus will still leave a variety of minorities dissatisfied. Many of these groups will have been wrong in their position but some of the positions which did not win the majority approval may be the pregnant ones for future growth. It is important, therefore, that appropriate procedures be worked out so that groups that are dissatisfied with the action taken can continue to work out further

elaborations of their positions and present their materials for careful consideration from time to time.

Robert M. MacIver, in his analysis of the problem of government, brings out the function of the community in providing a home for the faiths which sustain living. Although he does not discuss in detail the relationship to the local group, the implications are clear.[10]

. . . The community is not only the living together of the inclusive group, it is also a bracket that contains all the non-centralized and endlessly variant activities of its members. In the community a man finds his larger home, the home of his people. But also in that community he cherishes and works for his faith, whatever causes are dear to him. The faiths of those who share the same community are different faiths. In other words, there are two distinct kinds of attachment here, and in modern society it is most important that they should not be falsely identified, as is done by the totalitarians. There is the attachment to the home in the larger sense, the social home the sentiment for which embraces both the home folk and the habitation of the folk. And there is the attachment to the cause, the faith, the cultural values that have a locus there along with other cultural values to which we are not attached. Man needs both these attachments. The home is the transcendence of the individual, the primary fulfillment of his social being. The cause goes beyond personal relationships, it is the expression of man's relation not to his folk but to life itself, in a sense of his relation to the universe.

The problem of finding an appropriate community unit for our modern industrial civilization is one that challenges our ingenuity. Although large cities have existed throughout the period of recorded history, the mass of mankind has lived, until relatively recently, in small villages. Some students of community organization, such as Arthur M. Morgan and Baker B. Brownell, believe that only in the smaller communities can we nourish the vitality that will ensure the survival of our civilization. Perhaps now that the matter is receiving our attention it may be possible to organize the larger cities into smaller subareas, such as neighborhoods.

In spite of the values of the smaller community today, it is the large city which exerts the stronger pull. Leaders concerned with rural life are endeavoring to find ways to counteract this attraction of the metropolitan area. In the next selection, Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson[11] have dealt with this problem, using in turn a number of selections from other writers on modern community organization.

Cities have ever been centers of communication and, consequently, they have the richest intellectual and artistic life. Ideas radiate from the cities; for they control the press, newspapers, magazines, and books, as well as radio broadcasting. In the last twenty-five years there has been, therefore, a very rapid urbanization of rural life.

With the concentration of wealth and means of communication in them, the cities have naturally become the centers of all sorts of national movements—political, economic, social, and religious—and the urban point of view has tended to dominate many movements for rural social organization. This has been well stated by Kolb and Brunner:

> The issue is squarely before rural people today, farmers and villagers alike, as to whether they will organize a community of sufficient size and solidarity to give them the social utilities and institutions they feel they need, and at the same time develop a point of view which will be recognized in larger political, educational, and religious spheres. National and state politics, as well as urban educational and religious interests, have used disorganized rural society too long as a pawn in games in which local rural interests mean little, if anything. If democracy is to be preserved in government as well as in other great functions of life, local opinion and action must be made more effective.

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One of the major problems in the maintenance of the values of our culture in a rapidly changing environment is that of insuring means of social control, by which "conscious social effort may . . . play a significant role in shaping the conditions under which man lives."

The importance of the community as a cultural unit for social control is being increasingly recognized by critics of our modern urban-dominated society and is one of the chief values of rural over urban society. That the situation in the rural community gives a more definite social control is too well known to need argument. The lack of any pervading loyalty to established usages, and the free individualism of the metropolitan city, is one of the weaknesses of modern city life which is constantly emphasized. This theme pervades the analysis of Lewis Mumford in his book, *The Culture of Cities.* He believes that smaller cities make possible a better community life. This has also been explicitly stated by J. K. Hart:

> Most of our cities are now "states of confusion" without bounds or patterns or serious care for the moral and spiritual wastelands they encompass. The *group* has a pattern. The *community* has a pattern. In each of these the individual member could find meanings for his own guidance. The *city* has no pattern; it is a conglomeration. In it the individual can find no pattern—or rather he could find many, many patterns, bits of old group and community patterns, but no *city pattern.* He has, therefore, no *city morality,* no *city mind.* He still has the morality of his group, predatory or otherwise; he still has the mind of his nurture, provincial or primitive.

It is this ability of the rural community to exercise a definite social control through its own community pattern of behavior and to form a public opinion through interchange of views of its different elements which makes the development of the rural community of peculiar value for the preservation of true democracy in modern society. The city is too easily dominated by mass psychology. Its people are swayed by the clever appeals and suggestions of the demagogue. The masses who have lost their old ties of social control, and who are unable to grasp the complexities of urban life and to function successfully, are willing to accept the authority of the self-appointed Nazi or Fascist leader who promises them deliverance from their frustration. But in the rural community it is possible for the citizen to grasp the local situation, to do his own thinking, to be less swayed by public opinion and to have a definite, even if humble, part in the community life and activities. In a rural community the ordinary individual may have a satisfying status. To achieve this is much more difficult in the large city. This is not saying that these possibilities are by any means always or even generally realized in rural communities; however, they are realized to a very considerable extent, and there is a possibility of developing a fine type of social organization, which is much more difficult in the large city.

Modern civilization, particularly in cities, suffers from an uncontrolled individualism, and we see the necessity for recreating loyalty and devotion to the common welfare, if we are to maintain the basic values of a satisfying culture. The rural community which has sufficient size to maintain the necessary institutions and to adapt them to modern needs, but which is not too large to prevent personal acquaintance and participation in the common life, has the best conditions for inspiring devotion to community welfare, for developing a fine type of culture and thus becoming a stabilizing influence in modern society. Because of the predominant influence of the city in contemporary Western civilization, it is of the utmost importance that a virile community life be built up in the rural areas. Nor should this development of rural communities be regarded or motivated as a mere nostalgia for the supposedly "good old days" of the past. Rather it would be developed as the best means whereby the people on the land may build up a new social organization which will give them a distinctive culture, making use of the utilities of modern civilization, but not being dominated by them.

In our society, with its growing interdependence, the larger units of state, region, and nation become increasingly important. Decisions which once could be left to local groups must now be handled in a way which will be reasonably uniform for a thousand localities; and hence, the decisions are made higher up. The problem of a steady flow back and forth between the local units and the higher decision points grows more serious. The local units are a logical place for

the consideration of the issues and the formulation of the local wishes. Ways need to be found by which these can be related to the decision making which is carried on in state, national, and even international centers. Sanderson and Polson[12] continue their discussion of this aspect of community development.

One of the chief functions of community organization is that it makes possible the development of channels of communication with specialized services of state and national agencies which may be of assistance to its citizens. Much as it might like to be of service to them, a state health department cannot deal with an amorphous mass of rural people; but if they have a community organization it can serve them. The enlargement of outside contacts is one of the chief services of community organization. The best social life does not arise in isolation. "George Russell (Æ), the greatest Irish statesman and rural leader, puts down as one of four fundamentals in rural civilization that local associations must be linked with larger federations so that each locality may become conscious of the larger problems and life of the state and nation."

It is through the outreaching of the local community to other communities, so that together they may achieve their common ends, that the larger social consciousness and the larger democracy arise. [Mary P. Follett in *The New State* has said:]

> Every group once become conscious of itself instinctively seeks other groups with which to unite to form a larger whole. Alone it cannot be effective. As individual progress depends upon the degree of interpenetration, so group progress depends upon interpenetration of group and group. . . . The reason we want neighborhood [community] organization is not to keep people within their neighborhoods but to get them out. The movement for neighborhood organization is a deliberate effort to get people to identify themselves actually, not sentimentally, with a larger and larger collective unit than the neighborhood.

Local community organization as a channel of communication has significance not only for its own citizens, but it greatly facilitates also the work of state and national agencies, whether public or private. We are living in an era of rapid social changes when it is necessary to obtain discussion and action by the people on many important issues. This is most easily accomplished through local community organizations, as was demonstrated during the World War by the organization of Community Councils of Defense . . . and as is being shown at present in the work of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration through its county and community committees.

In an era of rapid change, such as the present, we have become aware of the need of attempting to make better plans for the future, and there has been a rapid development of the planning movement since the World War. This started with city planning for the elimination of congested traffic, zoning industrial and

residence areas, the creation of parks and playgrounds, etc., but has now been extended to state, regional, and national planning, as illustrated by the reports of state planning boards and the National Resources Committee. In the main these planning bodies have dealt mostly with the physical basis of society—with land, highways, water resources, parks, etc.—but the industrial depression has forced upon them the necessity of considering problems of population and of the conservation of our human resources. This is well illustrated in the recent report of the National Resources Committee on "The Problems of a Changing Population." The reorganization of rural school districts suggested by the President's Advisory Committee on Education . . . would involve a tremendous task of social planning.

Such problems reveal that successful planning must seek to establish the local social and economic areas which are the primary units through which any plans will be implemented. Perceiving this, some of the state planning boards have already undertaken studies to map the rural communities. Furthermore, they realize that, unless the idea of planning can be exemplified in the work of the local community, it will be difficult to obtain the support of the people for their participation in the execution of plans for larger areas.

Without local communities which can evaluate and utilize their plans, the studies of state planning boards will fail to accomplish the desired results. This relation has been so well envisaged by Lewis Mumford that we cannot do better than to quote him:

> . . . a final stage must follow, which involves the intelligent absorption of the plan by the community and its translation into action through the appropriate political and economic agencies. . . . Nor can a plan, as such, provide for its own fulfillment; to emerge as a reorganizing agent, it must help conjure up and re-educate the very groups and personalities that will bring it to fruition. . . . Regional plans are instruments of communal education; and without that education, they can look forward only to partial achievement. Failing intelligent participation and understanding, at every stage in the process, from the smallest unit up, regional plans must remain inert.
>
> Once the human scale is overpassed, once the concrete fact disappears from view, knowledge becomes remote, abstract, and overwhelming; a lifetime's effort will not provide sufficient grasp of the environment. The more people who are thrust together in a limited area, without organic relationships, without a means of achieving an autonomous education or preserving autonomous political activities in their working and living relations, the more must they become subject to external routine and manipulation. The resorption of scientific knowledge and the resorption of government must go hand in hand. We must create in every region people who will be accustomed, from school onward, to humanist attitudes, cooperative methods, rational controls. These people will know in detail where they live and how they live; they will be united by a common feeling for their landscape, their literature and language, their local ways, and out of their own self-respect they will have a sympathetic understanding with other regions and different local peculiarities. They will be actively interested in the form and

culture of their locality, which means their community and their own personalities. Such people will contribute to our land-planning, our industry planning, and our community planning the authority of their own understanding, and the pressure of their own desires. Without them, planning is a barren externalism.

Mumford, as quoted by Sanderson and Polson, states clearly the things to which education must address itself if we are to succeed. People working with people is the way of democracy. It will be successful if people trust one another and if the knowledge needed for their decisions is available. We conclude, therefore, that we can hope to achieve an expanding concept of the community as we learn to work in groups to draw upon the extensive and virtually untapped sources of knowledge.

SOME SAMPLE PROGRAMS

4

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER is to provide a brief sampling of a number of adult-education programs actually in operation. Although they are not presented to illustrate specifically the application of theories and principles presented in earlier chapters of this volume, it is probable that a careful study of these sample programs will make more meaningful some of the theoretical material presented. It is hoped, too, that this picturing of some programs in operation will make more clear some of the realities of the adult-education movement before the reader turns to Part II, which deals with major agencies, and to Part III, which discusses "ways and means."

The following procedure was used by the authors in selecting the programs to be described: First, a letter was written to each of a group of nationally known adult-education leaders who in their work come into contact with adult programs in many parts of the country. These men were each asked to list the eight or ten specific programs of adult education that they considered to have the greatest over-all significance. When the replies were tabulated, it was found that about 50 programs had been listed. Only five were mentioned more than once, and these were each included in only two lists. It is quite obvious that leaders in the field do not recognize on the national level a few specific programs that are outstandingly more significant than others.

Since space limitations made it impossible to describe more than ten programs, it became necessary to set up some criteria for selecting these from the total list submitted. The following factors were considered:

First, the programs selected should represent as many different kinds of agencies as possible.

Second, they should illustrate as wide a sampling of kinds of program and educational purposes as possible.

Third, they should have a wide geographical distribution.

Fourth, in so far as possible, they should be examples of programs operating on the community level, even though sponsored by or affiliated with a national organization. In two cases, however, it seemed necessary to describe programs on the state or national level, as the nature of the program or the materials available did not make possible a good description on the community level.

The ten programs selected are listed below:

1. *Community Programs*
   - Louisville Public Library, Louisville, Ky.
   - Adult Education Department, Des Moines Public Schools, Des Moines, Iowa*
   - The Junto, Philadelphia, Pa.
   - Stephenson Community School Service Program, Stephenson, Mich.
   - Denver Adult Education Council, Denver, Colo.
   - Milwaukee Vocational and Adult Schools, Milwaukee, Wis.
   - Western Reserve TV Series, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
   - Program of Community Dynamics, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
2. *State or National Programs*
   - State Organization Service, Extension Division, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
   - National Training Laboratory in Group Development, Bethel, Maine

In addition to the ten sample programs to be described in this chapter some of the other programs mentioned are listed below. As indicated in the list a number of these programs are discussed in other chapters.

1. *Community Programs*
   - Cleveland World Affairs Council, Cleveland, Ohio*
   - Unified Parish Education Program, Donaldsonville, La.
   - Adult Education Department, Schenectady Public Schools, Schenectady, N. Y. (see Chap. 15)
   - Technical School, Phoenix, Ariz.
   - Denver Opportunity School, Denver, Colo.
   - Family Life Education Program, Toledo Public Schools, Toledo, Ohio
   - Adult Education Department, Olivet Public Schools, Olivet, Mich.

* This program was mentioned by two individuals. The others were mentioned only once.

Long Beach Community College, Long Beach, Calif.
Roosevelt College Labor Management Program, Chicago, Ill.
Adult Education Department, Los Angeles Public Schools, Los Angeles, Calif.
Division of General Education, New York University, New York, N. Y.
Boston Center for Adult Education, Boston, Mass.
Education on Problems of Aging, Los Angeles Public Schools, Los Angeles, Calif.
Parent-Child Centers, Berkeley, Calif.
Americanization Program, Stockton, Calif.
Round-table Discussions on Public Affairs, San Jose, Calif.
Training for Volunteer Community Service, San Francisco, Calif. (see Chap. 9)
Adult Education in Correctional Institutions, Sacramento, Calif.
Sacramento School of Government, Sacramento, Calif.
Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
WOI Radio TV, Ames, Iowa.

2. *State or National Programs*

Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Program (see Chap. 5)
Great Books Foundation, Chicago, Ill.* (see Chap. 1)
Continuation Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.*
School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.* (see Chap. 10)
Bureau of Information and Program Services, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
The People Act, Fund for Adult Education, State College, Pa.
Test Cities Program, Fund for Adult Education, Pasadena, Calif.
Community Service Bureau, Division of Adult Education, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Community Study Program, Extension Division, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
In-Service Teacher Training Program—Extension Division, University of California and California State Department of Education (see Chap. 17)
American Foundation for Political Education, Chicago, Ill.
Experimental Film Discussion Program, Fund for Adult Education, Pasadena, Calif. (see Chap. 15)
Committee for Economic Development, New York, N. Y.
National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Urbana, Ill.
Canadian Farm Radio Forum, Ottawa, Canada (see Chaps. 3 and 15)

* This program was mentioned by two individuals. The others were mentioned only once.

Louisville Public Library

We turn now to a brief description of each of the ten significant programs listed above. The first is a report of an active, alert library, by Karl Detzer:[1]

A Louisville, Kentucky, housewife one day last spring finished an afternoon's shopping, then hurried into her city's astounding Free Public Library. Inside the door she dropped her bundles into a wire basket on wheels, pushed it to the reservations desk, and announced: "I want a framed picture for my living room."

She was told that there were few to choose from; most of the 100 originals and fine reproductions in the library's gallery were already out on loan. But she did find a water color by a Kentucky artist, which she decided would be just right for her wall. A librarian stamped her card, and the picture was hers for a month free.

Next she said she'd like to hear some Beethoven. Through earphones she listened to passages from a dozen records, at last borrowed five for a week—also on her library card. At the book desk she picked up a light novel and a heavy volume on race relations—one of the subjects most in demand in Louisville—then hurried downstairs to a darkened room where a score of other taxpayers were enjoying television, another free library service. On her way she put a nickel into a dispensing machine for a bottle of Coca-Cola, which she drank while she rested her feet and watched the show.

Not for long, however. It was nearly five o'clock and she had to get home. There at home, along with thousands of other Louisville citizens, she would tune her FM radio to Station WFPL to hear Chicago Round Table, followed by a half hour of Mexican folk songs and another thirty minutes of Brahms. This radio station, 250-watt transmitter, is owned by the Louisville taxpayers and operated for their recreation and cultural advancement. The public library runs it from studios in the basement of the main library building. The public schools give a helping hand, too, and use it as one of the city's most versatile educational tools. Fourteen hours a day it broadcasts good music, significant speeches, open forums, condensed versions of current books and plays, and transcriptions of the best network shows—each of the latter by special permission from the networks—and it also transmits hundreds of other programs each week over a citywide system of leased telephone wires.

These lines connect the library with all Louisville's junior and senior high schools, such parochial schools as want them, the municipal university, the school for the blind, children's wards in the hospitals, the city's psychopathic ward, and all branch libraries. Each of the thirty-five outlets can get any program it desires at any hour of the day merely by asking for it. The library's

collection of recordings, although less than three years old, now numbers 7,500 records and wire- and tape-recordings, including opera, folk songs, symphonies, language lessons, poetry, Broadway plays, and transcriptions of every important network program. The radio station captures these latter and files them away on tape.

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Of course the library also has books—half a million of them. In two years their circulation has risen 40 per cent, in spite of television, from 1,200,000 to 1,760,000 a year. The "transaction cost"—the cost of lending a book, film, picture, or recording—is slightly under ten cents compared with a national average of twenty-five cents. Louisville has done this by streamlining techniques. Cost of all the library's extra services, including radio, all salaries, purchases of films and records, and rental of leased wires, was $47,541—about twelve cents for each of the city's 386,000 inhabitants.

Adult Education Department, Des Moines Public Schools:

The adult-education program of the Des Moines Public Schools is far too broad in scope and engages in too great a variety of activities to make possible a brief description that is more than a cataloguing. It seemed more significant to select a few of the activities from this outstanding program which seem to illustrate the general philosophy and method of approach. (Some other projects of the Des Moines program are discussed in Chapter 15.)

The point of view of the director of the program, Paul Durrie, is summarized in the following paragraph.[2]

Good adult education is not dry and pedantic. It has to meet people on their own level, be related to their current interests and meet their existing, realized needs. It starts with these and proceeds to broaden their horizons. It must be flexible and dynamic. It is constantly experimenting with new techniques and new mediums and perhaps that is one of the reasons why it is the most rapidly expanding field of education today.

The following selection calls attention to two principles of operational procedure to which the Director of the program attaches great importance—first, that of informality and second, that of decentralization.[3]

Most people agree that the best adult education is informal and that a friendly atmosphere which puts people at their ease and facilitates their making

new friends is desirable. The Des Moines program is working hard to create such a "climate."

We start with efforts to encourage our instructional staff to be friendly and understanding. A chatty handbook that sedulously avoids "pediguese" goes to each teacher with the letter that confirms the arrangements made personally for securing his services. It expresses the nature of the program and sets a tone. Large teachers' meetings for all persons taking part in the program have been abandoned in favor of smaller meetings of those who should work closely together. These take the form of pot-luck suppers, teas, and gatherings in homes. We want our teachers to know and like one another, to help promote one another's activity and do what they can to make the other person's program more successful. As a result the interior decorating teacher recruits people for the classes in Slip Covers and Drapes, the flower arrangement classes, and the furniture repair classes; the class called the Ballad Singers learned songs that they could sing and play on their autoharps for the class in folk dancing; people in the upholstering classes feel welcome in the woodshops to do any repair work necessary, etc.

To further create an informal, friendly atmosphere, a "coffee hour" has been established in most of our adult education centers. Classes begin at 7:15 and at 8:15 all take a recess and go to the cafeteria where coffee, cookies, milk or a soft drink is available. Here the people in one class meet those in the others, they hear their enthusiastic accounts of what they are doing and they become sold on an activity with which to follow-up what they are doing at the time. Occasionally a group will put on a "coffee hour" demonstration. At 8:30 classes reassemble and continue until 9:30. Two consecutive hours of intensive work is too long for many adults who come to class tired, and teachers feel there is a real advantage in having an intermission for relaxing, refreshments or a cigarette.

The last night of each term is an open house when classes continue much as usual but when all invite family and friends to visit, when most groups prepare exhibits, and when an interesting program is given at the coffee hour. It pays dividends in increased commitments and loyalty and does much to recruit enrollment for the next term.

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One of the maxims of adult education is that it should be available at the times and places most convenient to the public. This multiplies administrative problems but greatly increases the effectiveness of a program. The Topic of the Month program and the Films-for-Discussion service are examples of this policy of going out into the community as applied to the field of education in public affairs.

In Des Moines instructional programs are also sent out to all parts of the city to those who request the service. Nearly one half of today's classes are not held in the five Adult Centers (day-time high schools), but are conducted in

churches, community centers, Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, grade school community rooms, factories, department stores, banks, insurance companies, homes and at other locations scattered widely over the city.

The following selection calls attention to several specific projects conducted by the Adult Education Department:[4]

For many years the Department of Adult Education conducted a Family Life Conference in cooperation with the local Parent-Teacher Council. . . . Last spring an all-out effort was made to reach a much larger segment of the population and to make a real and constructive change in attitudes and practices of parents. The planning committee asked itself first, "What are the problems of greatest concern to parents?" They had ideas on the subject, but turned to the fifty-six local P.T.A. units and asked each to have a meeting to discuss the subject and to then turn in a hypothetical case study to illustrate the problem that was of greatest concern to them. These were analyzed and their contents synthesized into two case studies—one on allowances and the other on the social activities of children. . . .

The committee decided to send a folder containing the two stories into each home and to ask each father and mother to separately answer questions related to them, questions which could only be answered if you had clarified your own thinking on the problem. . . .

The results were gratifying. Of the 19,000 homes with children, 13,000 returned completed questionnaires. The returns were analyzed and the newspapers carried long stories on parental attitudes towards these problems. P.T.A. units discussed the returns to decide whether they reflected the opinions of those in their neighborhoods; older children discussed them in their classes and in each of the ten Junior and Senior High Schools, panel discussions were conducted at which three parents and three children compared their ideas on these subjects.

The activity climaxed with a public forum at which Ernest Osborne of Columbia University discussed methods by which families could work towards the solution of their problems.

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This year the Des Moines Public Forum programs are featuring a forum each month on "The Topic of the Month," topics that a great many people representing many community groups have decided are important. The forums feature such outstanding personalities as Stuart Chase, Norman Thomas and Hanson Baldwin, but the forum is only the climax to a month of study of the problem by many community groups, a study conducted as a part of their regular programming.

To encourage groups to use the Topic of the Month they were promised newspaper publicity at the first of each month emphasizing the importance of the issue, a kit of materials giving program help, visual aids, help in securing leaders, and an outstanding city-wide forum related to the topic.

Two additional programs of the Des Moines Adult Education Department are described in Chapter 15.

Junto—Philadelphia

The following paragraph from a letter to The Junto Adult School from the Mayor of Philadelphia indicates something of the achievements of Junto:[5]

As proud of Franklin's original Junto as the early mayors of Philadelphia must have been—I am even prouder of the modern Junto. As a school for adults . . . created by public-spirited men and women of a city, for all the citizens . . . run with such economy and wisdom so as to be self-supporting . . . now filling leisure hours of over 20,000 persons each year in more than 215 morning, afternoon and evening classes . . . such a school is without equal in this country and perhaps in the world!

The next selection, by Albert A. Owens, presents an overview of the philosophy back of this unique school and a suggestion of the program carried on.[6]

If the shade of Ben Franklin is hovering about Philadelphia, as has his spirit during the 162 years since he took earthly leave of us, he may have smiled, ethereally of course, when on October 7, 1941, some daring, and possibly presumptuous, Philadelphians initiated a revival of the illustrious Ben's Junto, then 174 years dead. On that date the staid Academy of Music was the gathering place of some 2000 persons interested in the reincarnation.

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During the twelve years that have ensued since the organization of the modern Junto, more than 90,000 persons in and about Philadelphia have attended the courses, all of which are conducted on the fundamental principle that "learning can be fun." Each semester extends over a period of nine weeks, with a class meeting one evening each week for two hours. There are no academic requirements for admission, no required readings, no written reports, no age limits, no examinations, no grades—only an interest in the subject or activity chosen, and a desire to widen one's knowledge for the fun of it. Even

more important, there are no paper qualifications nor degrees required for teaching in Junto. What are required are a demonstrated mastery of the subject and a conviction that learning really can be fun.

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Modern publicity methods were used to inform the public of the new adventure in adult education. A tabloid newspaper was put on every doorstep in Philadelphia; advertisements were placed in all the metropolitan newspapers; posters appeared in the streetcars and taxicabs. Publicity has been continued with each new semester, culminating in what has become a regularly established feature—"Open House." This event, marks the beginning of formal registration and previews for a crowded audience what some of the courses offer and the spirit in which they are given.

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. . . Since the program is geared to stimulate tired minds, not add to the fatigue of a hard day's work, the technique of teaching Junto classes must not be academic. Class participation is characteristic, as well as field trips, meeting interesting people, nonacademic lectures, if lectures there must be, and, above all, instructors who are keenly interested in selling their subjects.

Junto is unique; it has no entangling alliance with any other organization or institution in the city; it has no school night, spreading its classes over five evenings; it is a pioneer in methods and technics of teaching adults; above all it is fluid, seeking always to meet the needs of the moment, and ready to slip quietly out of existence as its need passes.

Just how does Junto accomplish its purpose? It is incorporated as a nonprofit organization under the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Its officers and board of directors serve without compensation. Its paid office force consists of one registrar and three full time secretaries. Instructors, who are all topnotchers, receive $5 per hour for their services, meaning that they practically donate their talents. Registration costs $5 for a course, or approximately thirty cents per clock hour. . . .

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. . . No one has a vested interest in the school, in a job connected with the school, or in the perpetuation of any special activity. On the basis of several years of experience those associated with Junto are convinced that educational methods, content, and technics must be adapted to the needs of the hour, that tradition and formalism have no place in education, that the cultural lag can and must be eliminated; in brief, education must, to be most effective, be streamlined to reduce wind resistance.

Stephenson Public Schools

The reference which follows tells the story of the Stephenson, Michigan, Community School Service Program. This organization operates on the philosophy that when people share, people care—then democracy grows. The story is from an article by Joseph B. Gucky and Herbert Corey.[7]

The seed for the experimental program for community development was sown . . . when the state superintendent of public instruction in Michigan, visited the Stephenson area and expressed a willingness to have his department cooperate with any community that showed a desire to lift itself up by its own boot straps. . . .

The experimental program came to be known as the Community School Service Program. . . .

The Stephenson board of education was assured of receiving technical and consultant services and leadership training techniques from the Department of Public Instruction for any plan of organization chosen by the community.

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The first problem in organizing the Stephenson area for action was to sell the general public on the idea of community self-help. The board of education had the conviction that any community can and will improve its quality of living in all phases of community life if latent leadership is discovered and motivated. It felt that the school system represented one of the major social agencies in the community and that it should assume the leadership in the development of the Stephenson Community School Service Program.

The board selected community leaders and met with them in small groups. The philosophy of community self-help was discussed with each group to determine their views. By far the greatest majority of the community leaders were eager to give their time and energy to a plan that was designed to make the Stephenson community a better place in which to live.

A mass meeting representing fifty-two social, economic, civic, and religious agencies was held. A temporary steering committee was organized to write a constitution for a community organization of self-help.

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The superintendent of schools, or someone appointed by the board of education, was to act as the executive secretary. The Council felt that the school administrator was in a strategic position to be of great service in any plan for community betterment.

The community organization, to be known as the Stephenson Community Coordinating Council and which would sponsor the Community School Service Program, agreed on the following general objectives:

To promote cooperative efforts of all of the community organizations and of the citizens in making the community a better place in which to live

To coordinate, on a voluntary basis, the efforts of the existing community agencies and individuals to meet more effectively the needs of the community

To encourage community surveys to determine local resources, conditions, and needs

To inform the public of conditions that need improving

To train leaders and encourage democratic action in meeting the needs of the community through the legal and established community agencies.

. . . It was to study and propose the solutions of community problems to the existing agencies which had funds and legal jurisdiction for action.

Seven problem-study committees were organized, namely, Education, Healthful Living, Community Services, Trade and Industry, Religious Life, Farm and Land Use and Home and Family Living. Any community problem could be channeled to one of the problem-study committees for consideration.

The membership of the problem-study committee was purely voluntary and not limited as to number of members. . . . When a committee studied a community problem and was ready for some action, a small committee of from three to five persons was appointed by the parent committee and became known as the action committee. . . .

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The secretary of each problem-study committee keeps a detailed record of all transactions, and a copy of the minutes is mailed to the executive secretary. This enables him to keep in touch with the whole program and to discover duplication of effort. . . .

The school building and its facilities are in constant use by the problem-study committees. Approximately 175 persons are members of the seven problem-study committees which meet at least once a month to study community problems. . . .

The program has now been in operation for over three years. Approximately fifty projects of minor and of major importance have been completed to enrich the lives of the community folks. A complete and detailed report is published each year. A sampling of the projects completed by each committee follows:

Education Committee

1. Establishing new library quarters in the village of Stephenson
2. Enriching and vitalizing the school curriculum by introducing new units of instruction:
   a. Course for junior high school girls in baby-sitting
   b. Noon-hour recreation program for transported pupils
3. Organizing core curriculum for junior high students

4. Establishing outdoor education camp for elementary and secondary pupils
5. Promoting community work experience projects

Home and Family Living Committee

1. Assisting the school in organizing a unit of study on "Preparation for Family Living" with specific reference to marriage problems and sex instruction
2. Conducting course in "Home and Landscaping"
3. Sponsoring forums and panel discussions on many problems relating to home and family living

Recreation Committee

1. Organized a summer recreation program with a full-time director
2. Promoting recreational activities to satisfy needs of all persons in all seasons of the year
3. Constructed new swimming pool

Community Services Committee

1. Initiated long-term improvement of Shakey Lakes Park Area
2. Sponsored institutes for elective officials
3. Erected new road signs in village
4. Cooperated with village to promote construction of a new bridge over river

Religious Life Committee

1. Organized community choir for persons of all religious denominations
2. Completed census of all persons to determine extent of religious affiliation
3. Promoted campaign to reserve Wednesday evening for home or religious activities
4. Promoted operetta with all churches cooperating
5. Organized classes in religious instruction for various age groups in respective churches

Farm and Land Use Committee

1. Assisted organization of preschool conference for teachers on soil conservation
2. Organized a Soil Conservation Field Day for Upper Peninsula attracting 2,500 persons
3. Organized a county-wide Artificial Breeders Association which now enrolls over 5,000 cows.

Health Committee

1. Initiated plan for blood-typing of all community residents on voluntary basis
2. Developed a Medical Loan Closet for public use
3. Promoted educational campaigns for TB X-rays
4. Encouraged board of education to have school cooks and bus drivers submit to physical examinations annually

Adult Education Council of Denver

The Adult Education Council of Denver is an example of what is possible when agencies and organizations of a community plan and work together on common problems. Its long history of solid accomplishment and steady growth has stimulated workers in other communities to organize similar councils.

The following selection, from material prepared by the Council, gives an overview of the history and purpose of the Council:[8]

The Adult Education Council of Denver was founded in 1930, when representatives of a number of educational institutes and agencies gathered for the first time, at the invitation of Dr. Malcolm G. Wyer, Librarian of the Denver Public Library, to work out a plan for effecting greater cooperation among themselves and greater coordination of their related efforts.

The Council developed informally until 1935, when a grant of $5,000 was received from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This money was to be used in demonstrating public services of a council to participating agencies in the community, and in demonstrating the possibilities of a community council operating from a library base. On March 1, 1935, a central office was opened and a permanent staff employed. The office was located in the Public Library Building, and was part of the library's contribution to the Council.

The Council received a second grant of $5,000 from the Carnegie Corporation in 1936; this with the stipulation that it be applied to the needs of the Council over a period of not less than fifteen months and with the intention that it be a "partial-support" grant which would be matched or supplemented by funds of local origin. Since 1938, the Council has been financed entirely by the community. There are no membership dues, but the agencies in the Council contribute to its support.

Membership

In 1935, when the Council office was opened, sixty institutions and agencies supplemented by a number of interested individuals comprised the membership

of the Council. Today, 1951, ninety-two organizations and agencies cooperate through the Council to meet their needs and to serve the community.

PURPOSE

"An adult education council by its very nature assumes that adult education can be handled through established agencies. A council's principal service lies in its ability to counsel with and aid present agencies, and to give form and impetus to the movement in a community." [*Annual Report*, 1935-1936]

A council serves as a clearing house of information on educational activities in the community. It provides information on education offerings in every subject field, and provides data on the program of every agency in the community offering work in adult education. The Council has no authority to determine agency programs, but should provide information by which coordination of programs can be effected.

A council through its many contacts in the community is in a position to detect changes in interest. By making this information available to community organizations, the Council can help to make more effective the programs of its agencies.

"A council can be of untold service in marshalling educational leadership and uncovering latent resources, the process being beneficial in turn to the agency, the individual and the community." [*Annual Report*, 1935-1936]

Educational and lay leaders in Denver serve as volunteers on a policy-making board of directors. Representatives from the ninety agencies serve on committees which study needs and duplications in adult-education programs in Denver and make recommendations. Members and guests meet quarterly for informal programs on educational and community problems. The Council maintains an office and clearinghouse with a permanent staff in the Denver Public Library.

The Council provides an imposing variety of services, among which are the following:

An information service answers questions asked by Denver citizens concerning classes, tutors, recreation, cultural activities, special events, clubs, and organizations.

A clearinghouse keeps a calendar of events in Denver. This enables the organization to avoid conflicting dates for meetings and activities.

Educational Opportunities, published weekly by the Council, brings news of adult-education activities in Denver to over 100,000 homes. The Council also publishes a monthly calendar of events sponsored by nonprofit organizations and a quarterly alphabetical listing of formal and informal adult-class offerings.

A speakers' bureau serves organizations in the Denver area by booking

qualified speakers for them and by helping them to arrange for panels, films, records, and other program aids.

A program-planning service gives aid to chairmen and committees in planning single programs or a series.

Film information is provided. This includes a clearinghouse for information on educational films available in Denver.

Special conferences are organized to explore techniques and problems of adult education.

A consultation service offers cooperation in planning, publicizing, and carrying out conferences, meetings, and special projects.

Great Books discussion groups bring to Denver the reading and discussion program worked out by the Great Books Foundation of Chicago.

Milwaukee Vocational and Adult Schools[9]

Around the year 1900, a young lawyer named Charles McCarthy came to Madison, Wisconsin, and was employed on the staff of the Law Reference Library at the capitol. Shortly afterward, he became head of the library and had an opportunity to work directly with legislators who needed library help in the preparation of bills.

McCarthy made use of every opportunity to point out to those with whom he worked, and to state legislators in particular, that in Wisconsin at that time about 5 percent of the people went to colleges and universities, approximately 15 percent went to high schools, and about 85 percent did not go beyond the eighth grade. Of this latter number, about 60 percent were dropping out at the fifth grade. He pointed out that the state by public means and through private colleges was paying a large amount of money for the education of a few people but was quite largely forgetting 85 percent of the people. He proposed that a new kind of school be created to take care of these.

To make the story brief, the Wisconsin legislature did become interested in the problem and appointed a committee, of which McCarthy was a member, to study the situation. After much investigation, both in this country and abroad, a report was presented to the legislature which was influential in securing the passage of a bill providing for the establishment of a new type of school for four groups of people as follows:

1. Boys and girls who had dropped out of the full-time school to go to work between the ages of 14 and 16 should be required to come back to school for five hours a week and should be allowed to choose the course of training they wanted. The five hours were to be taken out of their hours of employment. This would give them a chance to prepare for an occupation.

2. The young people in the age group mentioned above after losing a job were required to attend the school full time until they were again employed.

3. Apprenticed boys and girls, who had become indentured to learn a trade,

were to be released from employment and were required to attend the school, to be taught the related science, mathematics, drafting, etc., pertaining to the trade they were learning.

4. Provision was to be made for adults who would come to school voluntarily and take vocational or avocational courses.

These new Wisconsin schools were to be established in cities of 5000 population and over with local option as to establishment in cities of less than 5000. A special vocational board administered the work of each school.

The largest and best-known of the schools established under this law are the Milwaukee Vocational and Adult Schools. In 1951-1952, in addition to students under 18 years of age, there were 5863 adults enrolled in the day classes and 14,467 in the evening school. Since many of these students enroll in more than one class, the number of course registrations is much greater than the number of students.

The Milwaukee Vocational and Adult Schools offer free instruction. By state law the vocational board has mandatory power to levy a mill tax not to exceed two mills on the dollar for the support of the institution. The total operating expense for 1951 was about 2¾ million dollars.

The Milwaukee Vocational and Adult Schools offer instruction to Apprentice, Part-time Continuation, Full-time Continuation, Adult Preparatory, Adult High School, Vocational Junior College, Technical Engineering, Nursing, and Adult Special students. Vocational Instruction is offered in five practical areas—Business Education, Homemaking, Applied Arts, and Industrial and Personal Service occupations. Instruction is also offered in academic subjects.

Every effort is made to ensure that courses offered will have a content actually meeting student needs and that instructors will be well prepared not only in technical skill and knowledge but also in logical and effective presentation. The following example of methods used in the preparation of a new course is an illustration.

A demand was made on the school to provide instruction for those who operate and maintain oil burners in industry. This being a new program, it was necessary first to select a teacher who had a thorough knowledge of the problems involved in this area of work and who also could develop into a good teacher. Such a man was hired and was placed under the direction of the curriculum department. People who worked with him there developed a plan of study. This involved considerable analysis of the occupation and preparation of instructional material. After some months all preliminary preparations were made and the first class was organized. Not only had instructional materials been prepared but the practical worker selected as instructor had been given considerable training for the job that he was to do.

That the kind of program offered by the Milwaukee Vocational and Adult Schools is meeting a real need is indicated by the fact that the institution has

experienced a steady growth during the years both in the number of students served and in the variety of courses and services offered.

Western Reserve University Television Courses

The imagination of many adult educators has been stirred by the great potentialities of television. Western Reserve University has done pioneer work in offering a series of college courses for credit and in evaluating the effectiveness of these courses.

We quote from an article by Ellroy L. Stromberg.[10]

Western Reserve University has been experimenting with television education since the telecast channels in Cleveland, Ohio were first opened. . . .

The pattern was soon resolved into two kinds of programs. One of these was an informative program concerned with important service functions of the University, worthy community activities, current issues of local importance, and the dramatic portrayal of social problems. The second type of program took the form of classroom teaching. Short courses in economics, foreign languages, etc. were presented from the studio, some with students present and some with the lecturer only being viewed.

In the spring of 1951 the Television and Radio Committee of the University requested me to present to them an outline for a 13-week course in Introductory Psychology which might be presented in three half-hour periods per week and for which the viewer might register for college credit. . . . The requirements for credit involved the regular registration at $16.00 per credit hour, which included the syllabus and home study workbook. Nine assignments from the workbook (including 24 chapter assignments) were to be mailed in during the course. The tenth assignment was a 1,500-word paper on "How my study of general psychology will help me in my daily living." During the final week of the semester all credit students presented themselves for a written final examination on all work covered.

The course began in September 1951, at the opening of the fall semester. The 13 weeks represent the regular quarter in the studio calendar. The final examination occurred 16 weeks after the lectures began. . . .

The course in introductory psychology was presented over Cleveland's station WEWS, which provided the University with time from 9:00 A.M. to 9:30 A.M., five days a week. Psychology (1) occupied the Monday-Wednesday-Friday hour and Comparative Literature (2), a two-hour course was presented on Tuesday and Thursday. . . .

* * *

I would like to describe our procedure briefly and to give credit to the chairman of the University department of dramatic art, Professor Barclay Leatham,

for making our work successful. Mr. Leatham met regularly once a week with the instructors involved to discuss techniques and problems. At the meetings he stated and restated his feeling that as director of the program he was playing the part of a leech upon talent. He said "You give the lecture in the best way you can and I'll give the viewers the opportunity to see you at your best." He "cut" all the programs and from his reports on the difficulties he encountered we tried to make our next program better.

So it was that no program in our series of 39 was formally rehearsed. We arrived at the studio about 8:30 A.M., bringing with us such visual aids material as we might need. We used slides, flip cards, pictures, films, published graphs and tables, and such apparatus as might photograph well. We then presented Mr. Leatham with a time schedule describing the materials to be used at certain times during the lectures. We were not expected to meet that schedule to the minute since it was at best an approximation. By 8:45 our set was in place, and we placed on the blackboard whatever information we wished.

A word about our set might be appropriate. It consists of a large window in the background flat through which a greatly enlarged photograph of one of the University buildings can be seen. The two diagonal wings are fitted with hangers permitting the placing of a blackboard on each, or the use of a bookcase or charts, maps, etc., interchangeably. A small desk and a chair complete the lecture area.

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When registration was complete, 66 students had registered for the 3 semester hours of credit which cost $48.00. The two textbooks were not included in this fee but were available by mail from the University. An additional 472 had registered as auditors and paid a five-dollar fee for which they received the syllabus and workbook. Many of the auditors also purchased the two textbooks.

These credit students and auditors were found in a geographic area beginning at the western end of Lake Erie, and extending south into Ohio about 70 miles and eastward into the western part of Pennsylvania. No estimate could be made of the non-registered viewers outside of Cleveland but various tabulations indicate that about 70,000 persons within the Cleveland sampling area participated regularly in the sessions.

Several of the credit students, 13 in number, found it desirable during the first weeks of the course to cancel their credit registration. They were permitted to change from credit to auditor status if they wished. Of the remaining 53 students, 10 failed to complete the course, 10 asked for additional time to complete the written work and 35 presented themselves for the final examination. This is 66 per cent of those who had not formally dropped the course. If those whose work is now incomplete should finish it within the University limits (one semester) 81 per cent will have completed the work. Recent information from a midwestern university which takes great pride in its home study course indi-

cates that between 20 and 30 per cent of their correspondence students complete the work and receive credit. It appears that the telecourse not only stimulates home study students to complete the work but also provides substantial course material for those who have no desire to receive credit for their participation.

During the years . . . we had prepared several alternative standardized examinations covering the course. . . . We chose one of these, a test of 110 multiple choice items, for the final examination. As previously given to about 1,200 students the range of scores was from 31 to 95 with a median score of 54. For the telecourse students the range was from 35 to 95 with a median score of 68. There has undoubtedly been some selection in the telecourse group which eliminated the less capable before the examination, but it is apparent that those who receive credit by television home study have achieved as much as the regular students who, it is assumed, have a much greater opportunity to learn and have a closer tie with the instructor.

We have also been amazed at the splendid term papers some of these students have written. Even though the age range was from 19 to 50, and although some had not been in school for over 30 years, the papers were stimulating, thoughtful, and often refreshing.

A word should be said about the nonregistered students. Countless letters have come in commending us on our effort and asking that the University continue to offer more courses. I have met many people who listen and view us regularly and I believe their favorable comments are sincere. Study clubs have been organized among housewives to study cooperatively with us. Elderly men and women in their retirement have told us how much it means to them to be able to study and to enter new unexplored areas of science.

Even though our course was designed for the credit student and was not adulterated at all, the noncredit viewers have been pleased with its detail, its soundness, its applicability, and its challenge. I would suggest that others who plan to present psychology over television make certain that they do not underestimate their audience. We do not need to water our stock. . . .

I believe that the success of our course, using only the teaching methods we ordinarily use in the classroom, is due in a large measure to four things: (*a*) the careful choice of instructors who can make the subject matter live, and I say this modestly for my colleagues gave the course that special flavor, (*b*) the unwillingness to compromise on any of the subject matter in order to make it seem like a new-found magic, (*c*) the straightforward approach without staged drama or other practices not ordinarily found in the classroom, (*d*) the philosophy of Mr. Leatham who believes that television in education must be adapted to the professor and not the professor to the television medium.

We believe that what we are doing is educationally sound and we are currently presenting a three-semester-hour credit course in child psychology. . . . Western Reserve University also believes the telecourse is sound educationally

and is currently offering a three-circuit course in physical geography and presented two additional credit courses beginning last March. We have only scratched the surface for we believe that education is a continuing process which should be a part of every adult's life. These people are hungry for educational programs prepared for adults, and will make every effort to read, view, and understand the subject matter. The television medium appears to have been invented for educational purposes. I hope the story of our small success will stimulate others to take advantage of this unique opportunity.

Program of Community Dynamics, Earlham College

The program of community dynamics at Earlham College, although organized primarily to provide a richer educational experience for undergraduate students in a liberal arts college, has important implications for adult education. These grow out of the kind of leadership training gained by students in working with groups struggling with community problems and out of the general philosophy of helping communities to help themselves. Some conception of the purpose and organization of the program may be gained from the following reference taken from William Biddle's *Second Annual Report of the Program of Community Dynamics.*[11]

The Program of Community Dynamics was inaugurated at Earlham College in the summer of 1947. It was developed as a unique college experiment, to make a liberal arts education more realistic, to give practical expression to and cultivate student idealism, to give the college outreach in service to communities. . . . Three communities were served during the first year. During the second year, projects were increased to seven in five separate localities. Service activities beyond the borders of the United States were initiated in the summer of 1949 with a work camp in Cuba and one in Jamaica.

The work is organized around a Seminar in Community Problems open to any junior or senior without prerequisite. Thus students from every departmental major of the college are eligible. Since every graduate will become a citizen of his community, nation, and world, whatever his vocation, it is important that this training for idealistic leadership be available to him. The Program undertakes to find opportunity for practical use of undergraduate learning in projects, whatever the academic major. . . .

The fundamental purposes of the Program of Community Dynamics . . . are now more clearly defined.

To Improve a Liberal Arts Education. A liberal college education should train for future citizenship and leadership. General education and pre-vocational

work both make contributions to this end. Actual contact with real-life leaders struggling to improve their communities can give laboratory experience of great value. . . .

To Serve Community Need. A major responsibility of every educational institution, too often neglected, is to become a part of the life of the region in which it is located, to serve the needs of people in that area. This can, perhaps, be best accomplished through the community as a unit. We have made an attempt to serve communities only as requested. Frequently the invitation comes from a church, a service club, a planning committee or even from an individual. We have attempted in all instances to broaden the base of interest so that as many organizations as possible and as many individuals as possible become involved. Thus the college not only offers its services but tries to make these act as a stimulator for local initiative and responsibility. Communities should grow as a result of our efforts. We do not pose as experts to be called in to solve people's problems for them. We offer rather those activities of students and faculty which will help a community to help itself.

To Carry on a Research in Human Relations. By research we do not mean the social investigation which might be carried on by a university department of sociology, economics, or political science. . . . Rather it is our purpose to observe and record human reaction as people (including ourselves) struggle with real-life problems in their natural habitat, the community. . . .

* * *

Toward Educational Integration. Various colleges, in our day, are seeking to move toward an integration of their divergent offerings to students. This may be attempted on a subject-matter basis, on a problem basis, or on the basis of experience. Earlham College is pressing toward an integration around the problems which become alive to students through experience. The Program of Community Dynamics is an essential part of this process.

A number of real-life community laboratories have been made available. In these, every academic discipline may find opportunity to adapt its material to real needs. We are seeking educational integration by attempting to establish a liaison between professional learning and the emerging needs of people in communities, both at home and abroad. Potentially every academic department, natural science, social sciences, humanities, may be called upon to re-interpret and apply its skills and knowledge to meet real needs. Students can become active integrators as they study to use their learnings in solution of real problems, or call upon instructors to cooperate in solving the more difficult situations. The educational integration occurs about real problems arising in community laboratories and made vital in the experience of students.

Space permits the description of but one of many community projects undertaken. The selection comes from the *Second Annual Report*.[12]

Project A (Second Year). A is a small rural crossroad suburb, population approximately 300. As a satellite to a larger industrial center, it is a typical "bedroom" community. That is, the people living there work elsewhere, whether in city or on farm. There are a few retired farmers and the school serves as education center for the larger population of a township. We established relations with school authorities by offering to conduct a youth recreation center in the high school as a deterrent to delinquency. Students from the college operated the center faithfully during the first year. They also helped to organize a Community Recreation Council which has gradually assumed more and more responsibility. The council planned and administered a highly successful summer playground which pulled young people and adults from the entire township. In the fall of the second year, however, they indicated a willingness to turn responsibility back to us for the winter months. This we refused to accept, insisting that we wished to work with them or better still, under their direction. Somewhat reluctantly, they agreed to continue their responsibilities and actually planned much more than they had the first year. This included the conducting of the recreation center several times without aid from the college and also several family nights and large-scale parties. Their skill in such enterprises has visibly increased.

The council currently is engaged upon two activities, one a continuation, the other an expansion into broader fields. The first is the operation of the playground for a second summer. The other is the development of a town park. They are working upon the assembly of land, the raising of money and the planning to make the park at least partially self-sustaining through the sale of refreshments.

State Organization Service, General University Extension, University of Minnesota

The State Organization Service of the University of Minnesota's General University Extension now has 24 organizational members, with more than 10,000 individual members. The following selection describes the purposes and functions of the State Organization Service.[13]

Private membership organizations are among the most important, yet least noticed, of the many types of associations formed by our people to carry out the complex functions of modern society . . . As citizens we join such groups to promote the welfare of underprivileged groups at home and abroad, to protect our flora, and fauna, to develop an informed public opinion of foreign and domestic issues, in short, to build a better world.

We Americans do these things by working together in private organizations. It is part of our democratic way of life and we have developed it to a fine art.

These organizations are doing an important and vital work, but they are often doing it under handicaps which are well nigh insufferable. The average group elects officers once a year who are expected to run the organization in their spare time and on a shoe string and using their private brief cases for offices. Only a few of the largest groups can afford a full-time secretary to keep up the membership lists, collect dues, issue regular publications, arrange conventions and meetings, keep in touch with other groups working in the same field and, most important, keep the membership aware of significant events and trends affecting the aims and purposes of the organization.

These groups, so important to a healthy American society, often need a terminal, comparable in the realm of intellectual activity to the terminals of the economic world. The State Organization Service of the University of Minnesota offers such a "terminal" service to organizations in Minnesota and in the region served by the University.

The State Organization Service is a department of the General Extension Division of the University of Minnesota . . . Its staff exists to provide common services to state and regional organizations wishing to join it. It is financed through funds from the University, from the Carnegie Corporation and from fees from the participating organizations.

The State Organization Service makes available to eligible organizations the following services:

1. Space: Organizations make their headquarters at the University. Their secretaries or officers are given office space from which to carry on their work.

2. Office services: The S.O.S. provides a host of office services, many of which are normally available only to the largest businesses. These include secretarial services, printing, mimeographing and other duplicating processes, addressing, mailing, filing and membership-record keeping.

3. Financial services: S.O.S. assists organizations in accounting, purchasing, and in the custody of their funds.

4. Conferences and meeting facilities: The University has many excellent places for holding meetings ranging from small luncheon and discussion groups to large public gatherings.

5. Subject matter assistance: The University of Minnesota is one of the world's greatest aggregations of scholars and researchers. There are few organizations which could not benefit from frequent contacts with leaders in their fields who are on the staff of the University.

6. Organizational assistance: Running a successful association is an art and science in itself. S.O.S. can make available to organizations the latest information and techniques used in successful organizations throughout the country. And one of the greatest values of S.O.S. is the daily interchange and swapping of

ideas that comes about from working side by side with other organizations. Regardless of their subject matter they share the same problems in the day-to-day business of running an organization.

7. And what S.O.S. does not do! S.O.S. in no way seeks to influence the policies and purposes of any of the groups it serves. S.O.S. furnishes the necessary housekeeping services so that the organizations can free themselves for their substantive work.

National Training Laboratory in Group Development

A unique experiment in the area of group dynamics, carried on by the cooperative efforts of a number of agencies, has involved the establishment of a National Training Laboratory in Group Development at Bethel, Maine. The impact of this project upon the thinking and program planning of group leaders throughout the nation has been very significant. The project is described by Leland Bradford in the following selection.[14]

Both action leaders and educators on the one hand and social scientists on the other have been stimulated by the demands of our dangerous social situation to press for collaboration in experimentation in training methods in group development and in improving human relations. The National Training Laboratory at Bethel represents a convergence of such action and research interests in a cooperative training research enterprise. . . .

Action people in various agencies and organizations, group workers, and educators have become increasingly convinced that workshops and work conferences, in which the emphasis is on group thinking and decision by all participants on problems defined by the participants, offer distinct advantages over information-giving sessions in which conference leadership assumes responsibility for defining the problems considered and for getting "experts" in to give "the answers" to conference members. Many valuable suggestions and hypotheses have accumulated from experience in the management of productive workshops and work conferences, both in formal and informal educational settings. But people on the action front are recognizing more and more widely that further advance in conference techniques and methods now requires careful research to test the suggestions and hypotheses distilled from this experience and to develop and test other and new hypotheses. Such research requires collaboration among social scientists, educators, and action people. . . .

On the scientific side, the studies of group leadership by Lewin, Lippitt, and White and by Lippitt and Zander have indicated the important effects on individual growth and group productivity of different types of leadership. The

retraining projects of Bavelas and French have shown that striking changes in leadership and membership behavior can be expected from new therapeutic and skill-practice approaches to re-education. The explorations of Lewin, Bradford, and French and Marrow have clarified the resistances to change met by consultant service or by training unless a receptive group environment for new and improved behavior is created by group rather than by individual training methods. . . . Study by Raup, Benne, Smith, and Axtelle of the logical conditions and processes of valid democratic group thinking in making policies and action decisions and studies of the methodology of action research by Lewin and others have shown a convergence between the philosophic and scientific approaches to methodology. Both have pointed to the necessity for closer collaboration between ideological, scientific and action interests and competences in effective education, research and action. From these and other developments in the fields of human relations research . . . and from the growing demand from the field for research help, it seemed time to push much more deeply into the possibilities of sharing with a group of outstanding social leaders the basic study of individual and group personality as they affect the efficiency of thinking and working together of groups in all types of organizational and community settings.

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When the delegates arrived at Bethel they were involved from the start in decisions about the plan of organization for the three-week training period which had been tentatively outlined in staff conferences over a period of many months, and had been rounded into final shape in the week preceding the opening of the laboratory in meetings of the faculty and research teams.

The pattern of organization which developed was as follows:

1. Each delegate was assigned to one of five Basic Skill Training groups scheduled to meet regularly in three-hour sessions each morning of the laboratory. Delegates were assigned to these groups by random selection corrected only to insure maximum heterogeneity in each group.

The BST groups were organized to provide learning and practice opportunities for all delegates in the human relationship skills basic to effective group development and training. The faculty assumed that, in spite of heterogeneous job interests and problems, common skill needs of creating a need to change, stimulating group skills of self-diagnosis, leading to practicing new relationships, assessing success and failure, making group decisions effectively, etc., could be identified and could serve as the basis for analysis and practice throughout the laboratory period. This total area of common skills became known in the laboratory as "change-agent skills."

2. On the basis of preconference questionnaire data from delegates, a list of clinic groups was submitted to each delegate. Each delegate chose the afternoon clinic group he would participate in initially—discussion methods, leadership

training, conference planning, community-action programs, recent research findings in groups dynamics, etc. . . .

3. General sessions were announced as follows: (a) three orientation sessions at the beginning of the laboratory; (b) evening town meetings on topics of general interest to the laboratory community; (c) periodic evening sessions for delegate evaluation of laboratory process and for feed-back of data about individual and group behavior collected and analyzed by the research staff.

4. Afternoon and evening time for recreation was included in the schedule.

5. At the first orientation session delegates were also given a picture of the research design to be tested out at the laboratory and some idea of the time investment required from each delegate for testing in the first and last days of the laboratory. Each delegate was asked to devote approximately eight hours during the opening week to group and individual measurements with an additional five hours for retesting and reinterviewing at the end. . . .

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The difficulty experienced and expressed by some delegates in adapting to the training procedures originally outlined was perhaps only one evidence of the often painful struggle of 75 distinct and competent individuals from many different fields, each with power status in his back-home situation, to become productive group members. That there was early resistance to accepting status as a learner, to assuming the responsibilities of an effective group member, to rising above the consideration of personal job problems—there can be no doubt. The important thing is that in a three-week period the delegates overcame these and other difficulties; group and community solidarity was established; perception of interdependence as basic to individual and group maturity was increased.

Some few examples of how these things came about are relevant. Data collected by the BST group observers, for example, revealed an increase within the group, not only of member participation, but in responsible limitation of unproductive participation and increase of fruitful and thoughtful contributions. There was definite evidence of the development of supportive help within the group for less articulate members, of cooperative as contrasted to competitive discussion. . . .

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It seems valid . . . to conclude from the Bethel Laboratory experience . . . that in all those areas of living where interpersonal and group relations are of paramount importance there are basic skills for stimulating changes in attitudes, behavior, and performance which can be identified, acquired, practiced, and communicated to the end that conflict in group and intergroup life in modern society can be reduced constructively and cooperative learning and action efforts for the common good increased. It seems clear that the Bethel Laboratory groups in their brief life cycle demonstrated in microcosm at once

many of the imperfections and many of the great potentialities of group learning and action, the efficiency of which must be increased if our democratic society is to meet the challenge of an atomic age.

We have had in this chapter brief glimpses of ten programs. All sought to provide services to adults at points where there were strong needs. All illustrate the vitality of adult education today and the increasing readiness to try new things. The activities originated in many ways; the variety of leadership sources is one of the exciting things about these accounts. Many different groups were involved; cooperative efforts were the keynote.

As we have indicated, the programs included can be matched by many others. Additional reports of promising activities are found in the chapters of Part 2, which deals with some of the agencies of adult education and in Part 3, on common problems.

It is our expectation that adult education is about to witness a period of considerable expansion. In the next few years we believe that there will be many more programs which will be even more significant than the pioneer efforts illustrated above.

PART TWO

Organized Programs

Helping all adults to live happier and more effective lives is the task outlined for adult education in Part I. It involves providing educational assistance at the time and place that adults need it and in the form most effective for their abilities and interests. Such an educational program uses all the present provisions for adult education and undertakes as rapidly as possible to extend their coverage through cooperative planning and search for additional resources. It is an undertaking in which all adults have a stake and in which the main effort of adult education is to assist citizens in taking increasing responsibilities in the program.

We know that Americans are good learners. The people who have settled our country have not been, for the most part, the persons who had had the most education or who had risen to high status in the countries from which they emigrated. But in the new land they mastered the skills needed to provide food and shelter and safety for their families and had enough in reserve to expand the natural resources into a great economy. We are so accustomed to admire our material and technical achievements that we overlook the fact that on the side of human relations our success has also been noteworthy. In this sphere we welded many disparate interests into a democratic government and extended it to meet the needs of new territories and new peoples from many parts of the globe.

We see the task now as one of providing more adequate channels through which these learning abilities can function. We built our nation around the face-

to-face groups, in which people could know one another and sense the full meanings in the words each used. Now, in our more complex way of living, we must devise new ways to establish the mutual faith which enables us to arrive at the "sense of the meeting" and to accept it as a basis of common action.

The educational task, therefore, is not simple. It is a cooperative matter, with work for all who are willing to help. The role of the volunteer is central. If the volunteer is to be effective, however, he needs the continuous support of persons who can devote full time to providing training opportunities and materials which he can use. We see this as an expanding area in which additional professional services will be needed.

There are certainly a number of ways in which these professional services can be organized. As we acquire more experience in community development, we would expect new patterns of organization to be devised. Regardless of the exact nature of the over-all patterns, a major share of the load will be carried by the various organized groups who make education a major item in their total programs. These have the resources of trained personnel, of materials, and of other facilities. We are fortunate in the extent of the existing resources. As the task of systematic educational assistance for adults becomes more widely recognized, these resources are likely to be greatly amplified.

It is our purpose in Part II to provide some introduction into the work of the organized groups. In the space available here, we can only begin to open up the major issues that are involved. We shall try to give enough so that the reader can get something of the feel of the work now being carried on and some of the issues which are arising.

Our major task, as we see it, is to help establish a firm basis for an integrated local program in which each group can work most effectively. At present, community studies reveal relatively little on the cooperative side. As one study expresses it, the most accurate description of the relationships would be "polite." What we want is the clarification of the "unique" functions for each agency so that there can be united support by all to see that each agency receives the help it needs. In addition there are activities common to several agencies, and in such areas the need is to develop ways of allocating responsibilities in each community.

For various reasons—primarily because of space limitations—we have omitted a number of important groups. The family, for example, in spite of changes during the last hundred years, is still in many areas the basic educational unit. There is need for a more comprehensive treatment of it than we give somewhat incidentally in the chapters on the services of the schools and of voluntary groups. We have not included religious agencies, although we expect a great increase in their educational services to adults. We have included only the Agricultural Extension Service among the many governmental agencies that

might be considered. We have not dealt with industry and the variety of its educational activities now provided and being anticipated. Related to this is vocational education, one of the areas of greatest development to date and one which will be vital in the total community program.

The welding of all of these agencies into an effective team is one of the most challenging tasks of the current educational scene. It is the kind of thing Americans have done with outstanding success in some fields. We feel confident that if the American people can see the magnitude of the educational job, they will get it done in this field with equal success.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

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THE AGENCY commonly referred to as the Agricultural Extension Service has a more formal and more accurately descriptive title—the Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service. As this name implies, it is a joint undertaking. Cooperatively administered by federal, state, and local governments, the organization has been so successful in the promotion of its program that it has gained international recognition and has grown to be the largest tax-supported adult-education institution in the world.

Established in 1914 by the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, the Extension Service has grown rapidly. In 1951 it employed a professional staff totaling 12,642. Approximately 2000 specialists in agriculture and home economics were at work on the campuses of cooperating land-grant colleges and universities preparing materials and rendering specialized help to more than 2500 home-demonstration agents and to nearly 5000 county agents and assistant county agents. Over 95 percent of the counties in the United States have agricultural agents, and about 70 percent have home-demonstration agents.

The professional staff, large as it is, shrinks to insignificance as compared with the staff of volunteer workers enrolled in the Extension Service Program. About 1,000,000 unpaid, voluntary leaders each year give an average of about two weeks each to extension work. This donated time, if calculated at rates paid

to unskilled labor, exceeds the amount of the entire annual budget of the Extension Service.

The scope of the program is indicated by such statistics as the following, taken from the 1950 annual report.

An estimated 4,661,094 families changed one or more agricultural practices as a result of extension activities. More than 3,300,000 families were influenced to change home practices. Nearly 2,000,000 boys and girls were enrolled in 4-H Club work. Extension agents worked with 339,900 young men and women between the ages of 18 and 30.

It has been stated that nearly 7,000,000 farm families are reached by the Extension program. In 1951 the appropriation for this program from all sources was $77,250,000.

The program of the Agricultural Extension Service is of great significance to the adult-education movement in the United States, not only in its own right but because its record of progress and solid accomplishment over a period of more than a generation is our best demonstration of the fact that the behavior patterns of adults can be changed in significant ways by a program of adult education. It has demonstrated, too, that its program goes beyond changing the behavior patterns of individuals, because in thousands of communities over the nation groups of people have been stimulated to work together for the solution of their common problems. Its history provides our most convincing evidence that social change toward established goals can be brought about by a program concentrated on the adult citizens of a community.

The achievements of the Extension Service tend to confirm the faith of many adult educators in the great social and individual values to be derived from programs of adult education, but there are further reasons for examining the functioning of this agency. It is our best example of an adult-education agency operating with a large professional staff; it is a unique experiment in a cooperative educational program with federal funds playing an important part in stimulating and supporting programs initiated and controlled at the state and local level. With its relatively adequate and stable financial base making possible its relatively large and well-trained professional staff, the Extension Service has for many years pioneered with adult-education methods and procedures. No other agency has had the opportunity to try out nearly so thoroughly under field conditions its conceptions of what adult education can and should accomplish.

The remainder of this chapter presents selections chosen to answer the following questions about the Agricultural Extension Service program:

What is the social setting in which Agricultural Extension operates?
What is the basic organization of Agricultural Extension?
What is the content of the Agricultural Extension program?
What are the basic methods used by Agricultural Extension?
What are the obstacles and recommended measures for overcoming them?

What Is the Social Setting in which Agricultural Extension Operates?

Except for the staff members of the Agricultural Extension Service, few adult-education workers have had first-hand experience with rural America and its problems. The following selection is quoted from material prepared by Charles P. Loomis on "Special Conditions of Rural Adult Education" as part of a committee report resulting from a study sponsored by the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the Fund for Adult Education established by the Ford Foundation.[1] The selection, which is too brief to do more than suggest some of the disadvantages and advantages for adult education in a rural setting, is well documented in Loomis' original manuscript.

Ecological Factors—Sparsity of Population and Organizational Efficiency

In most respects, rural areas are comparatively disadvantaged in the availability of adult education facilities. One reason for this is related to the problem of space and its effect on communication and organization. Everyone is aware that man is a space-bound creature and that no dreams of magic carpets or supermen change this. However, in an age of supersonic speeds and mass media we may forget that organizations, to function effectively, require a certain minimum number of participants, members or consumers in a relatively small area. . . . A large segment of the rural population of the United States lives in natural service units or trade center communities which have fewer people than these minima. Obviously, the minimum population required for effective service is related to many factors involving the economic status, cultural homogeneity, accessibility, day-to-day interaction and movements of the people. But the disadvantaging factors of low population densities and long distances to services in many rural areas of the United States need no emphasis for adult education workers with experience in the sparsely settled areas. The county agricultural agent, vocational agricultural teacher, extension librarian, and rural minister have very different problems in the Range-Livestock or Wheat Areas of the Great Plains than do adult educators in large cities or thickly settled rural areas. Some of the difficulties of providing services in the most rural parts of the nation could be overcome if incomes for all rural sections were comparable . . . however, incomes are generally lower in the more rural and less densely populated areas.

Ecological Factors—Communication within Informal Groups

Although the most rural areas may have insufficient population and financial support for the formal social systems that provide health, educational, welfare and road services, such areas are not disadvantaged in all the requirements for effective adult education. Thus, in most farming and ranching areas, the family

functioning as a unit occupationally is an effective means of communication. Families, as groups usually operate the farms and ranches of the United States. A family enterprise, whether a two-acre truck farm or a 1500-acre cattle ranch, ties the members into a team relationship which no effective adult educator fails to consider in his work. . . .

Outside the immediate family, the kinship or family system is an important communication network and mutual aid system in all rural areas. In many rural areas studied by the author, 80 per cent of the day-to-day contacts off the farm are with relatives. Such communities are rather unusual, being for the most part ethnic groupings, such as the Spanish-Americans in the southwest and Dutch groups in the north. But in all parts of rural America, particularly in the older settlements, family ties are important—"Blood is thicker than water."

. . . the clique ranks next to the family in the intimacy it provides participating members . . . the clique or friendship group is regarded as a small, non-kinship group, consisting of two to about thirty persons, in association and possessing a feeling of unity. Such groups are described as "informal" because there are no formally elected officials, constitutions, by-laws or other formal structuring elements. The intensity, frequency and significance of social interaction of rural people in such groupings is great.

The neighborhood may be defined as an area in which people "neighbor together." Except in the most sparsely settled areas, rural parts of the nation have the strongest neighborhoods. This is not the place to discuss the differences between neighborhoods and trade center communities, but it may be observed that since the invention of the motor car and modern road system, the small neighborhood of from 15 to 150 families who "neighbor together" is disappearing, whereas the trade center community made up of several to a dozen or so neighborhoods is becoming more important.

The trend toward the disappearance of the small neighborhood groups in rural areas and toward much larger trade center communities, noted by Loomis above, has brought with it a demand that Agricultural Extension expand its services to such communities made up largely of non-farm people. There is even some demand for certain types of Agricultural Extension services in urban areas.

Edmund Brunner and E. Hsin Pao Yang call attention to this situation in the following reference:[2]

. . . agents regard urban work as a marginal activity, except for fulfilling an obligation to report to urban taxpayers on what the Service is doing for the general welfare. This obligation, which should include interpreting the farm

point of view and farm needs to urban people, is important, and several papers at meetings of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities in recent years have stressed its value and implied, as did the Joint Committee on Extension Programs, Policies and Goals, that it should be given more attention. On the home economics side, where cities lack adult education agencies in this supremely important area, Extension may well meet the need when and if asked. Such requests are increasing, and in 1948 several states began the process of securing funds to respond to them.

The situation is different with respect to the rural non-farm population. People in such areas are next-door neighbors of the farmers. To an increasing extent rural villages and towns have become centers of rural life. Farmers and their wives in considerable proportions belong to village organizations or community organizations meeting in village or town centers. There they secure many of the services they require, from medical care and banking facilities to education for their children. They comprise an appreciable proportion of the membership of village churches. Social interaction is so frequent and continuous that the village or small town and its rural hinterland are usually two halves of the same community. Village women have the same problems of homemaking as farm women. Village families have gardens or "farmettes," as indeed do many urban workers who can afford to live on the outer fringe of urban commuting zones. Moreover, village business has a lively awareness that its well-being depends upon agricultural prosperity. For that reason village merchants and professional men are keenly interested in farm affairs.

Since centers of this size, if they desire adult education, lack the many agencies which can supply such needs in larger cities, it was natural that Extension should respond to this situation. A vast majority of the million non-farming families changing agricultural practices in 1947 and the equal number changing home economics practices lived in rural non-farm territory. They represented 21 per cent of the families changing agricultural and 35 per cent of those changing home economics practices. The comparable proportions in the peak war year of 1943 were 36 per cent and 40 per cent. The decline from war-stimulated contact with Extension appears to have been halted, and at a level above prewar. If one assumes that practically all non-farm homes reached are in rural territory, then agricultural and home economics agents each reach about one home in six effectively enough to produce actual changes in procedures. The total influence of Extension in this area is of course larger than this figure indicates. In any general meeting it is impossible to separate those who attend into farm and non-farm residents. Moreover, many non-farm families send directly to the state Extension office for bulletins and listen to Extension broadcasts without ever entering the agent's offices or attending a meeting.

It would appear that service to this large element in the population should be considerably increased. . . . Nationally speaking, the rural non-farm popula-

tion is now slightly larger than the farm population. This situation now prevails in exactly half of the states and in the others the trend is in that direction, stimulated in part by the mechanization of agriculture and the steadily increasing size of farms. In the famous dairy state of Wisconsin, in the quarter-century between the two world wars, the farm population declined by about 10 per cent, whereas the rural non-farm population gained about 25 per cent. It is now two-thirds as large as the farm group. In the 16 to 24-year age group the preponderance of the rural non-farm group is even larger than that for the total population. In about thirty states it exceeds the rural farm population of this age.

It is easy to recommend that Extension greatly increase its service to the rural non-farm population or to criticize it, as some do, for failing in this particular. It must be remembered, however, that any considerable expansion in this admittedly underserviced area would involve either less attention to the farm population or more staff, and therefore larger appropriations.

What Is the Basic Organization of Agricultural Extension?

Having noted, though very briefly, some of the conditions peculiar to adult-education activities in rural areas, let us now consider the organizational structure of the Agricultural Extension Service set up to meet these conditions. The Smith-Lever Act, passed by Congress in 1914, established the basic pattern. Brunner and Yang describe the most significant features of this legislation as follows:[3]

It provided that extension work in agriculture and home economics should be carried on by the land-grant colleges in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture. Cooperation was no empty phrase. The local people, acting through their state colleges, initiated the plans for the work in each state. Greater participation and leadership was required to effectuate this cooperation than had been needed in the past. The plans had to be mutually agreed upon.

The extension work, in the language of the Act, was "to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same." Practical demonstrations were also provided for, thus perpetuating Dr. Knapp's major contribution. The audience was to be persons not attending or resident in a land-grant college. The focus was therefore rural adult education, the content of which was very broadly defined in the debates on the Act but not within its phraseology.

Each state was to receive $10,000 annually from federal funds, and the following year additional amounts, prorated on the basis of rural population,

from a federal fund of $600,000, which should increase by $500,000 annually for seven years and continue thereafter at a total of $4,100,000 making a total of $4,580,000 in 1923 when the maximum was reached. (Ref. Smith-Lever Act, Section 3.)

The additional amounts above the basic grant of $10,000 were prorated among the states in proportion to their rural population and were available only when matched by state or local funds raised or contributed within the state.

This last provision, requiring financial participation, is very important. It is perhaps the secret of the high degree of cooperation which has existed between the counties, state, and federal governments in their combined service for farm people. It made the local people regard the Service not as something offered to them from outside, which they could take or ignore as they pleased, but as theirs by right of their own support and participation. . . .

Finally . . . it is important to note that each college receiving the benefits of the Act was required to send an annual statement to the Secretary of Agriculture covering its use of the funds. This audit was the only control over program lodged in the federal government. It was simply a device for insuring that the funds granted the states were spent within the purpose of the Act.

From the point of view of program, the Act provided for the development of Extension through an itinerant agricultural adviser in each county, called in most states a county agent. His responsibility was to give leadership and direction along all lines of rural activity, technical, social, and economic. He soon became the voice, the eyes, and the ears of the college in his county. . . . The act also placed work in home economics and with boys and girls on a firm footing. . . .

As launched, then, the Act provided federal assistance to an educational program that encompassed the whole farm family. It recognized the basic importance of agriculture, of its practitioners and their families, to the nation. It set up a legal mechanism which has stood the test of the intervening years, in large part because its philosophy and provisions were consonant with the values and attitudes of the people, particularly the farm people of the United States.

In order to spell out in greater detail the modes of cooperation provided for in the Smith-Lever Act, a Memorandum of Understanding was agreed to by the Secretary of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges. Brunner and Yang summarize the provisions of this memorandum as follows:[4]

(1). To organize and maintain a definite and distinct administrative division for the management and conduct of extension work in agriculture and home

economics, with a responsible leader selected by the college and satisfactory to the Department of Agriculture.

(2). To administer through such Extension Division thus organized any and all funds it has or may hereafter receive for such work from appropriations made by Congress or the State Legislature, by allotment from its Board of Trustees, or from any other source.

(3). To cooperate with the United States Department of Agriculture in all extension work in agriculture and home economics which said Department is or shall be authorized by Congress to conduct in the state.

On its part the United States Department of Agriculture agreed to organize and maintain an administrative office to represent the Department in the general supervision of all cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics and to administer the federal funds granted to the states under the Act. The Department further agreed to carry on all demonstrations and other forms of extension work in cooperation with the state agricultural colleges as indicated above.

The memorandum also spelled out certain organizational procedures. Each state college agreed to set up an Extension Division headed by a Director of Extension, appointed by the college and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture. In practice this approval has become practically *pro forma*. Individual project agreements for special activities were provided for. Both the colleges and the Department gave official status to all agents appointed for any sphere of Extension work. These agents, down to and including those in the counties, are hence joint representatives. All publications are plainly marked to indicate their cooperative nature. Finally, provision was made for abrogating the agreement by either cooperating body.

The organizational structure provided by the Smith-Lever Act and by the Memorandum of Agreement noted above provides for operational programs on three levels—the federal, the state, and the county. Operations on the federal level have been described as follows by Brunner in the *Handbook of Adult Education*:[5]

The federal office has no power to dictate to the states. Its leadership is by indirection, but its functions are manifold. It audits the state accounts to certify that the federal funds are being spent for the purposes for which they were appropriated. It maintains liaison field workers, each assigned to a regional group of states, and has also a small staff of specialists. It issues bulletins and suggestions; conducts research as requested; and cooperates in training the professional staff through summer schools, workshops, and institutes. The

federal staff is made up of less than 250 persons, a number of whom are part-time advisers. Since the Extension Service is the educational arm of the United States Department of Agriculture, one of its functions is to bring to the states news of national developments of importance to their work.

The following selection from Brunner describes the program on the state level.[6]

The administration of the Service heads up in each state college of agriculture under a Director of Extension. Under him there is often an assistant director, and always there are two state leaders, one for the county agricultural field workers, called agents, and another for the home demonstration agents. Each state college also has a staff of subject-matter specialists, who are, as the name implies, concerned with the various phases of the program; such as marketing, animal husbandry, dairying, poultry, clothing, canning. The duty of each specialist is to keep abreast of research and experimentation in his area; to interpret the results in teachable, readable terms; to develop programs in the subjects called for by the counties; and to train the agents and local leaders. This training is mostly concerned with methods to be used in teaching the subjects to members of local groups in the various counties of the state.

Well over half of the specialists are concentrated in about ten subject areas similar to those mentioned above. The rest cover a wide variety of areas of interest, such as housing, rural community organization, and recreation. The Home Economics branch of the Service deals chiefly with the selection, preparation, and preservation of food; the provision of proper clothing for all members of the family; home decoration, sanitation, household budgeting, etc.; child care and training.

On the county level the work has been described as follows by Joseph L. Matthews. This material is part of the report sponsored by the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the Fund for Adult Education.[7]

The basic unit of the Cooperative Extension Service is in the County, for it is here that programs are made and extension teaching is done. County programs grow out of the needs and desires of the local people. The Federal and State organizations are designed to give the maximum help to county extension agents and local volunteer leaders to enable them to give the greatest aid to the people in the counties.

A typical county is served by a county agricultural agent and usually by a woman home demonstration agent. In many States, especially in the East, the county has one and frequently two 4-H Club agents. In many states there are assistant county agricultural agents and assistant home demonstration agents. In many states 4-H Club work is done by the county agent and home demonstration agent or by assistant county agents or home demonstration agents. The average is about three professional workers per county. In some counties with highly specialized types of agriculture and where the financial resources permit there are assistant agents and subject-matter specialists on the county staff.

The county extension service offices generally are located in the county-seat town. The county staff is responsible for conducting effective educational programs which are related to problems affecting the welfare of the people in the county. They are aided by volunteer local leaders, adult men and women, and the young people with some training who help the county agents develop programs, conduct meetings, hold demonstrations, and who help to get information to their neighbors in every possible way.

County extension workers as representatives of the State Land-Grant college of Agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture are responsible to both. In addition, the county workers are employees of the county government, and their tenure in the county is subject to the approval of the sponsoring organizations or the county governing bodies and the State extension administration. One of the important characteristics of the Extension Service arises out of this trinity which with its local ties are said to give the people in the county a feeling that the professional workers in the county are one of them.

Thus far in this chapter we have presented material calling attention to some special conditions in rural areas affecting adult education, and to the organizational structure set up to function under the conditions described. It is our purpose now to present material indicating in a general way the kind of program that has been developed by the Agricultural Extension Service. We shall concern ourselves here with the objectives of the program and with the content material designed to achieve these objectives.

What Is the Content of the Program?

The next selection, also from Matthews, calls attention to the basic objectives and the content of programs.[8]

The first educational responsibility of the Service is to carry to rural people the teaching and the results of research of the state agricultural colleges and experiment stations and the United States Department of Agriculture. Its pur-

pose is to help them apply the teachings and research findings in improving the farm, the home, the community, and the nation. The Cooperative Extension Service does not operate alone on the knowledge and research of the colleges and the USDA. Long ago it learned that the people, through their own experience and study of their own problems, have much to contribute to the improvement of rural life.

The purpose of cooperative extension, as conceived by its administrators and by its workers, is not so much to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, but to develop the people into self-confident, effective and understanding men, women, and youth who will have vision and will be capable of meeting leadership responsibilities in the community, state and nation.

* * *

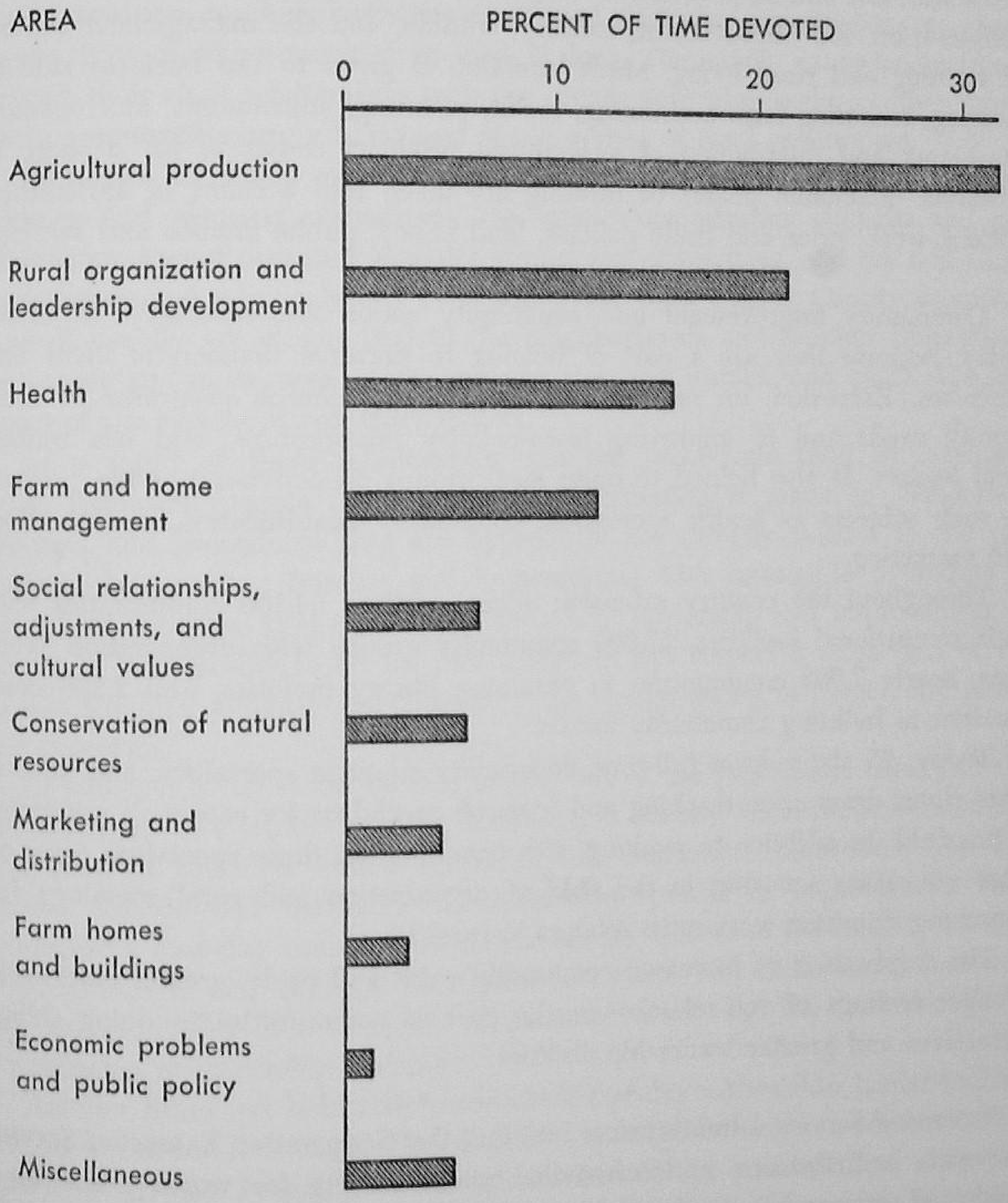
Historically, agricultural production has received the most attention and will continue to receive much attention in the future because it is basic to the welfare of people on farms and to the nation as a whole. Agricultural commodities represent an important part of national productive capacity. Increasingly higher agricultural production by the most efficient methods is essential to the maintenance of adequate living standards for people living on farms and for their continuing economic and social improvement. During the decade 1940-50, about one-third of the efforts of county extension workers were directed toward more efficient production of crops and livestock.

[The graph on the facing page shows] that county extension workers devote about one-fourth of their time to developing and servicing rural organization and voluntary leadership. Much of their effort is directed toward improving social relationships, helping make social adjustments, and developing cultural values among rural people.

Rural organization activities include helping the people to organize themselves for cooperative effort in dealing with their problems in rural living, and in working with established groups to assist in planning and carrying out educational and group action programs to meet the needs of local people. The most important aspect of working with groups and organizations consists of developing them as a means and an end in program building.

Economic problems and public policies deal with the relation of local, national, and international economic problems to the welfare of farm people and the general public and measures that could be adopted to overcome the problems involved. The agents report only a small portion of time devoted to this area, but it does not reflect accurately the true situation. This inaccuracy arises from several causes. Possibly the most important one is that the work in economics and public policy is largely done personally by the State extension economists whose effort is not included in county reports. County extension workers carry on much of their work with economic problems in connection

Time Devoted by Extension Workers to the Various
Areas of Extension Educational Responsibility
in 1950
(Source: Annual Reports, County Extension Workers, 1950)



with commodity programs and tend to report all related efforts under specific commodity classifications. Matters of public policy frequently are introduced as a part of other programs in such a way that they are a minor part of the whole activity and are obscured in reporting use of time by units of a day or fractional parts of days, or in classifying the kinds of meetings and other events held.

* * *

The agricultural phase of extension work is as broad as agriculture itself. It deals with any and all problems of crop and livestock production, soil and water conservation, soil improvement, forestry, wildlife, and the management aspects of farming and rural living. Much attention is given to the business side of farming, including farm accounting, credit, planning, adjustments, and tenancy. Marketing and distribution of agricultural products comes in for a share of attention. Economic phases of farming are taken into account in agricultural outlook work, price and trade policies, land policy, public finance and services.

* * *

Community improvement and community action are especially important today, because they are a part of helping to preserve democratic ideas and processes. Extension, on request, helped in fitting church programs to community needs and in improving town-country relationships, and has trained rural leaders. It also helped to unite local groups on community-wide projects on such subjects as health, recreation, community beautification, conservation, and marketing.

Throughout the country extension agents assisted 34,100 communities with their recreational facilities, 57,600 community groups with organization problems, nearly 7,000 communities in obtaining library facilities, and 2,266 communities in building community houses.

Today, 25 states have full-time community-relations specialists, and several other states draw upon teaching and research specialists for extension assistance in this field. In addition to working with communities, these specialists carry on other education activities in the field of organization and rural sociology for improving extension work in its relation to rural life.

The emphasis is on increased community spirit and pride, greater teamwork, stronger feelings of self-reliance on the part of communities in doing things themselves and greater leadership abilities.

* * *

Extension Service administrators feel that the Cooperative Extension Service has made contributions to international understanding for world peace in a number of ways and over a long period of time. About 77 per cent of the county workers in the 263 sample counties have programs or activities dealing with international understanding for peace, strengthening of democracy, or under-

standing and strengthening of the economy. On the basis of the survey, an estimated 9 millions of people are reached by such programs in the United States.

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Ideally cooperative extension work as conceived by the Extension Service is democracy itself. From the beginning its aim has been to improve the people by developing their ability to analyze their problems, decide upon practical solutions, and plan and carry out action programs designed to improve farming and rural living. Extension workers try to implement this philosophy by democratic extension teaching activities conducted with the organizations of rural people through which much of its work is done. The county extension services, through their close relationships with the county governing body or other sponsoring organization, are a basic part of our system of local government.

Local ties are made even stronger by the men and women on agricultural advisory and planning committees, the home demonstration councils and organizations, young men and women's groups and committees, and the 4-H Club organization and adult advisory committees that work with it. County extension services usually are closely tied to the neighborhoods and families throughout the county and in its most remote areas by the men, women, and youth who are a part of the system of volunteer leaders.

As a result of these relationships and the procedures used in extension work, Extension people believe a large contribution is made to democratic concepts and procedures that are byproducts not directly related to the objectives of improving farming and homemaking. This intangible byproduct is difficult to measure. It is revealed in growth of leadership and improvement of people in their ability to do for themselves. In this respect a large part of extension teaching activities contributes to the strengthening of democratic ideals and processes.

In addition to the contributions arising out of the procedures used and the organizations with which it works, Extension is making an impressive contribution through activities aimed specifically at democratic objectives. The Extension Service and the home demonstration sponsoring organizations have conducted a four-day annual State conference for officers of the local sponsoring organizations in one State for 13 consecutive years. The conferences deal with the responsibilities of the leaders of extension work and the function of the organization in leadership training.

Another State has held four consecutive two-day citizenship leader-training schools in the last four years. The purpose is to help homemakers become better-informed citizens. Programs at the schools and in the counties deal with such topics as jury systems and the courts, social security insurance, State and Federal taxes, town and county officers, how the government handles your money, voting procedures, and assessment. Visitations of both adult and youth

groups are made to government institutions like post offices, courthouses, jails, courts, and schools. A wide variety of activities are carried on from county to county and State to State, some in all States and in many counties.

Some of the States prepare series of discussion leaflets which are used in local adult and youth group meetings. Leaflets and other duplicated materials have been prepared and distributed on such topics as "Group Medical Care," "Duties and Privileges of a Voter," "Parents Teach Regard for the Rights of Others," "Training the Child for Good Citizenship," and "Returns from our Taxes." Youth programs feature such group discussion topics as the philosophical base of democracy; functioning of a democracy; democratic organization; local, State, and national government; duties of officers; program planning; and discussion leadership.

What Are the Basic Methods Used by Agricultural Extension?

We turn now from a consideration of program content and present material indicating methods which are utilized in the Extension program. The materials quoted have been selected from Brunner and Yang[9] because they emphasize methods which are basic to the program of Agricultural Extension but which are not discussed in Chapters 14 or 15, dealing with methods and materials.

Like all adult education, extension teaching differs from classroom instruction. It grows directly out of the needs and interests of the people. It follows no rigid pattern or curriculum. Participation in its program is wholly voluntary. It holds its constituents only because of the value of what they receive. Yet almost any extension group will vary in age, educational experience, interests, intensity of need, and levels of living. There may also be differences in values and cultural backgrounds. Obviously the productivity of extension education is greatly influenced by the effectiveness of the teaching methods used and the skill with which the agent can fit these methods and the content material to the diverse interests and abilities of each group.

The teaching methods can be grouped in three broad categories. These, as presented below, include not only methods in the usual educational sense of that word, but also the means by which the methods are employed. Thus, a lecture can be given to a meeting in a local hall or it can be a radio presentation.

The first group of teaching methods employs objective illustrations, such as charts and posters, exhibits, slide films, motion pictures, pageants and plays, and, most important, method and result demonstrations. The second group of methods is oral, and includes office calls, farm and home visits, meetings, radio talks, phonograph records, and even telephone calls. The third category includes

such written and printed materials as bulletins and other publications, circular letters, correspondence, and news articles. These different means and methods are used interchangeably to accomplish the same purpose, i.e., to bring about some change in farming or in home or community living. No one method meets all needs.

Demonstration is the foundation stone of extension teaching. Its importance was early recognized by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. When the Smith-Lever law was enacted this teaching method was specifically written into the act as a means of instruction. Demonstration is based on the "show me" idea. It presents a proved, improved practice in terms of a practical application to a specific situation. Based on the old adage "seeing is believing," it convinces people by what they see rather than by what they hear or read. There are two types of demonstrations, methods and result.

1. Method Demonstration

A method demonstration is one which shows the assembled group how to carry out a given practice. It may be conducted by either an Extension worker or a trained volunteer leader. It deals with actual techniques of farm or home practice, such as culling a poultry flock, pruning or grafting a tree, inoculating legume seed, canning vegetables, building a terrace, picking beans, mixing concrete, constructing a hog or chicken house.

The strong points of the method demonstration are the following:

a. It teaches skills effectively.
b. It motivates and stimulates action because seeing, hearing, discussion, and doing are employed.
c. It provides opportunity for developing leadership.
d. It builds confidence in the demonstrator, who is often the extension agent.
e. It promotes personal acquaintance between demonstrator and people.
f. It serves as a news-creating agency and therefore stimulates publicity.
g. It yields a high rate of "takes" to "exposures."
h. It accomplishes changes in practices at low cost.

However, this method also has certain limitations. It is not well adapted to all subject matter. Illustration by performance of a skill or technique is its chief contribution, but even this is dependent upon the demonstrator's skill. A bungled demonstration is bad. It not only confuses the audience, it also suggests that the method has not been perfected. A method demonstration, too, is dependent on adequate facilities at the point where it is given. If only makeshift equipment is available, the demonstration may fail. Where equipment is lacking it is often better to employ another teaching method. Even where the equipment is present, the demonstration can have little effect if comparable equipment is not available or procurable in the community.

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2. Result Demonstration

As the name implies, this teaching method demonstrates the results of a recommended practice, in comparison with a former practice, under actual existing conditions. Result demonstrations are conducted by a farmer, a homemaker, or a 4-H club member under the direct supervision of the Extension agent. Result demonstrations may be used to prove that the application of fertilizer will increase crop yields, that the underweight of certain children can be corrected through proper diet, that the use of certified seed is a good investment.

The principal values of the result demonstration are the following:

a. It furnishes a local proof of the desirability of establishing a recommended practice.
b. It is an effective method for introducing a new project.
c. It appeals to the eye and reaches the "show-me" type of individual.
d. It provides a good source of information for meetings, news items, pictures, radio talks, etc.
e. It furnishes cost data and other basic information of use in revising the program.
f. It yields a high rate of takes to exposures.
g. It aids in developing local leadership.
h. It establishes confidence in the agent and in extension work.

Some interesting and significant research has been reported by Brunner and Yang concerning the relative values of different methods.[10]

In the vocational aspects of its educational program the immediate objective of Extension teaching is to influence the behavior of its constituents. Much of this teaching is presented as a suggestion based on research. If the suggestion is adopted, it means that a familiar way of doing something will be changed. In Extension parlance, a changed practice will result from successful teaching. The number of changed practices is therefore one important criterion of good Extension work.

Very early in its history Extension began to study the number of changed practices which the people credited to one or another of the teaching methods to which they had been exposed. In 1928-1929 some 27,000 changed practices reported by over 8,700 non-selected farms in twelve states were examined from this point of view. Ten years later a similar study was made in eighteen areas which covered over 34,000 changed practices. The results follow:

RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF METHODS UPON ADOPTION OF PRACTICES

Method	*Percentage of Practices Influenced by Methods* about 1929	1939
Indirect influence	21.31	19.71
Method demonstrations	15.18	16.41
General meetings	13.80	13.92
Farm or home visits	12.34	12.53
News stories	10.27	9.70
Office calls	6.75	6.58
Bulletins	6.52	6.80
Result demonstrations	6.67	6.58
Circular letters	1.53	2.43
Radio	1.53	1.27
Correspondence	1.23	1.15
Leader-training meetings	.92	1.03
Extension schools	.77	.76
Exhibits	.61	.56
Telephone calls	.38	.37
Study courses	.15	.15
Posters	.04	.04

As these figures show, there was little variation in the effectiveness of the various methods over the decade. This, as will be noted, was in large part the result of the simple research methods employed. The most significant item in both studies is the first-place rank of indirect influence. This is a measure of the changes brought about largely as a result of the teaching, advice, or example of the local lay leaders who assist the professional staff in carrying out the Extension Service program.

It was quite apparent from this first study that the research should be pushed further. Was the proportion of changed practices resulting from each method worth the cost? For instance, farm and home visits accounted for slightly fewer changed practices than general meetings but were much more expensive. Result demonstrations took 17.2 per cent of the Extension budget but produced only 6.7 per cent of the changed practices. Leader training cost 4.6 per cent of the money, but indirect influence resulting from it accounted for one-fifth of the changed practices. Pursuing this line, H. J. Baker and M. C. Wilson discovered that as of 1928-1929 the situation was as follows:

Type of Teaching	*Share of Agents' Time*	*Share of Cost*	*Proportion of Changed Practices*
Objective methods	42.43	36.42	22.46
Oral methods	35.00	33.78	35.57
Written methods	11.54	16.20	19.70
Leader training and other	11.03	13.60	22.23

On this basis Baker and Wilson worked out a ratio of practices to costs. News stories ranked first with a ratio of 2.79; circular letters were second, scoring 1.83, closely followed by general meetings, 1.72; office calls, 1.56; and bulletins, 1.40. Farm and home visits were in sixth place with a score of 1.13, method demonstrations next with 1.04, and result demonstrations a bad eighth with 0.47.

Results pointing in the same direction were secured in an intensive investigation in Michigan in 1945. Reporting on sources of useful information about farming, three out of five farmers listed bulletins, four out of five articles in the local paper, but only one out of four mentioned demonstrations. Four out of five also referred to what has been called "indirect influence."

These results would not have pleased Dr. Seaman Knapp. Nor, it is safe to say, would they have been true in his day. But in the intervening years Extension had so demonstrated its value, so gained the confidence of its constituency that they would accept news stories and the advice of circular letters as they would not have done in 1909 or even in 1914. They themselves no longer needed to see a demonstration because they knew that what was written had been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the experiment station staff and extension specialist or it would never have been passed on. In other words, the situation had changed. It has changed further since 1929.

The research results given above are, of course, approximate. Farmers could forget which of several exposures to Extension teaching influenced a change of practice. Further, by mentioning just one they could discount the cumulative effect of other methods. It has now been established that five or six approaches are far more effective than one, and the actual increases in the proportions of the total population accepting a new practice with each added method have been plotted. The proportion of changed practices rises rapidly with each exposure up to the sixth. After that the increase is small.

It has become apparent that research into educational methods as such is not the whole story of why a given method succeeds or fails, why a given practice is or is not adopted. Hence policy based wholly on the implications of such research may not be appropriate in dealing with some situations and groups. The social situation in which a group finds itself conditions its response to a given method. It is a safe hypothesis that in a poverty-stricken area where there are few automobiles, general meetings take a lot of agent time and produce small attendance and few results. Such situations still call for farm visits. Nor will the best of bulletins assist a functionally illiterate adult. Such things are clear without research, but research along these lines, though fairly recent, has uncovered some useful facts and raised significant questions.

In a study made in Maine in 1941 it was found that method demonstrations and bulletins together were responsible for over two-thirds of the changed practices in homemaking, with the former slightly more influential. When,

however, the group was studied according to education, it was discovered that the more education a participant had had, the greater the degree of preference for bulletins over demonstrations. More than 90% of homemakers with over eighth-grade education had been exposed to Extension and almost four-fifths of them had made practical use of it. The comparable figures for those with less than an eighth-grade education were 70 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. Comparable results have emerged from other studies.

Obstacles and Recommended Measures for Overcoming Them

The final selection in our consideration of the Agricultural Extension Service deals with obstacles and with measures recommended for overcoming them. Personnel and leadership are given much attention in the material which follows. The reader may find it interesting to compare the obstacles recognized by Agricultural Extension workers with the more general discussion of blocks to the development of adult education in general, discussed in Chapter 20. The following selection is taken from material prepared by Matthews:[11]

The main obstacles to more effective extension work are related to maintaining a highly trained and efficient staff of professional workers, to the techniques of program development and execution, and to administrative and supervisory policies and procedures. The obstacles and recommended measures to help overcome them are described in the following paragraphs:

Extension workers need special training because undergraduate education in agriculture or home economics is not enough. Studies of training needs emphasize the social sciences as the area of almost universal training need among extension workers. Extension educational methods, rural sociology, and economics, in that order, are indicated by county agricultural agents as their more important training needs. It is recommended that the training of home demonstration agents should include child development and family relationships, psychology, economics, education, and sociology. The report of a joint association of Land-Grant Colleges and United States Department of Agriculture committee recommends more emphasis on training in the social sciences.

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More extension workers need to receive advanced study for professional improvement. Institutional facilities of two kinds are available to meet the need. The regional summer schools for extension workers could provide the needed training for the mass of county extension workers. In 1951 about 600 extension workers attended the summer schools which could accommodate about twice that number. In a recent survey of about 2,000 county extension workers 52 per

cent of the men and 30 per cent of the women gave financial reasons for not attending summer school. The problem is one of enabling numbers of workers to take advantage of the opportunity for special training in extension. Small scholarships such as were provided by the Farm Foundation for supervisory and administrative personnel in 1950 would stimulate attendance.

High termination of service among extension workers is another obstacle. The rate of turn-over of county agricultural agents in one state averages 12 per cent for 25 years. In another, terminations averaged 15 per cent for home demonstration agents. The rapid turn-over seems to have four main causes. First, the salaries of extension workers usually are less than those of other workers with comparable training, experience and responsibilities. Second, the high rate of terminations has been attributed by a land-grant college association subcommitee primarily to an inadequate retirement system and disparity in salaries. Unsatisfactory working conditions seem to be an important factor in the high rate of terminations. Third, many men leave county agent work to go into farming and many home demonstration agents leave the service to become homemakers. Others enter commercial employment. Fourth, the Extension Service long has been the source of well-trained and experienced persons to fill positions of greater responsibility and higher pay in government, business and industry.

This last cause of terminations may be the most serious because it affects the more capable leaders. . . .

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County extension programs could be improved if more facts were known about the relative effectiveness of the various methods of program determination. Extension teaching could be improved if more were known about the ways of dealing with objectives related to public policy, social issues, democratic values, and democratic processes. Research is needed to determine the factors that affect the effectiveness of the various methods of program determination and to develop new and more effective procedures. Investigations in this area are difficult because of the intangible factors and the time interval between program development processes and accomplishments.

Specific objectives related to international understanding, citizenship, and economic processes are needed in extension programs in order to obtain more results in these areas. Only limited accomplishments can be expected when they are the byproduct of programs based on farming and homemaking objectives.

Wider use should be made of the skills and techniques of working with groups. More information about their application to extension work is needed. Experimental programs are needed to develop more effective procedures for use in extension educational programs with intangible objectives of a social nature. This is particularly true of programs related to economics, public policy,

and democracy. Recent research in group dynamics can probably be used to advantage in cooperative extension work.

Greater and more skillful use of the media of mass communication in extension teaching are needed in order to maximize the effectiveness of extension workers and provide more assistance to larger numbers of people, both rural and urban. This would entail expanded training of extension workers through summer courses and "schools" and research to throw light on effective information procedures in extension work.

More extensive and intensive use of volunteer leadership is needed in program execution. More attention should be given to developing leadership and enlisting the aid of leaders in extension teaching activities. Evaluation of extension programs in terms of the nature and extent of participation by leaders would tend to encourage extension workers to utilize leadership more fully.

Reporting requirements have an important influence on the activities of extension workers: therefore, annual reports should call for information that relates to the desired kinds of programs. Requiring reports from the agents on results in the nonvocational phases of extension programs would be likely to result in more effort and accomplishments in that area.

Special effort is needed to reach the low-income groups and the farm labor families with programs related to their limited interests and resources.

Wider participation of people in cooperative program development procedures should be obtained. This basic requirement for good extension programs needs more attention in many areas. The emphasis on this principle tends to reflect the aims and philosophy of the particular extension service.

Improved methods of selecting new extension workers are needed. Studies are under way to develop information about the differential characteristics and competencies needed by extension workers. These studies are designed to develop information which can be used in selecting better qualified workers.

In its quiet way the Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service is one of the outstanding developments in Adult Education. It has demonstrated what can be done through cooperative efforts in developing programs built around the interests of families and drawing upon the resources of organized knowledge. It has demonstrated the power of the volunteer and the role of the trained worker. It has combined local, state, and federal contributions in an interesting illustration of a way of approaching the problem of balancing centralizing and decentralizing forces. It makes no claims to being perfect; one of its outstanding activities is its continuous use of research into its methods of operation. As adult education moves ahead it is to be hoped that "Extension" will be an increasingly active factor in future organized efforts to promote adequate services for all adults.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

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THE PUBLIC LIBRARY is one of the major institutions of a democracy. Supported by only a meager budget, it has made available to millions of citizens sources of information regarding current problems and a wide range of recreational literature, some of which contributes ideas as well as diversion. Pendleton Herring brings this out in the preface to *The Public Library in the United States.*[1]

> The Public Library in the United States is taken for granted. Predominantly local in character, both in support and management, it is deeply rooted in our national heritage. The community's library stands for much that is cherished in our tradition of equal educational opportunity and freedom of thought and communication. It takes its place along with the courthouse, the school, the church, and the town hall as an integral part of the American scene.

The potential power of the library is tremendous. It is well expressed in a message from the American Book Publishers Council on the occasion of the seventy-first annual convention of the American Library Association:[2]

YOU HAVE INHERITED ALL THE LEARNING IN THE WORLD
AND YOUR STRONGBOX IS AT ELM AND MAIN

Your riches are incalculable. They are the accumulation of 4,000 years; they have streamed to you from every corner of the earth. Yours is the wealth of every man who ever committed his knowledge or his dreams to tablet, parchment or to printed page.

You own the mathematics of Euclid, Newton, and Einstein. You possess the concepts of Plato and Kant, of Hegel and Berkeley; the ideas of Moses and Jesus, of Franklin, Jefferson and Lincoln. You own the full records of Herodotus and Plutarch, of Gibbon and Carlyle. Sterne and Hugo, Tolstoy and Melville have endowed you with the fruits of their invention. Stevenson and Kingsley, Aesop and Andersen have bequeathed their estates to you and your children.

Your strongbox overflows with the humor of Petronius, Rabelais, Carroll and Twain; with the songs of David and of Shakespeare, of Shelley, Chaucer, Coleridge and Frost.

Your strongbox. Do you know where it is, what it is?

Are you familiar with that dignified building near the center of town; the building with the broad steps, the quiet interior; the building where you can go and thumb through your treasure, using but never diminishing it; the building from which you can remove part of your treasure, take it home with you, enjoy it at your leisure, bring it back again for safekeeping?

Do you know the custodian of your treasure? The librarian whose job it is to keep your holdings diversified and as complete as your town budget permits?

You're the richest man in the world and, because your wealth increases day by day, you are richer than any man who ever lived before you. Visit your strongbox and its custodian. Enjoy your wealth.

Imagine what this country would be like if every citizen were to begin using this treasure chest and as a result were to see that funds adequate to the job were available to libraries.

What Services Do Public Libraries Provide?

The story of the Louisville Library, reported in Chapter 4, illustrates the variety of services which some libraries provide. At present only a small percentage of our citizens get this kind of service, but it does reveal something of the ways in which libraries are trying to make the permanent records of man's experience more available. The concern of librarians that the library work to achieve a wider use of its resources is well expressed in an article by Mrs. Florence Craig, of the Cuyahoga County Public Library in Cleveland.[3]

Why do we care whether people read more and better books, learn from them and talk about them? Wouldn't it be better to sit in calm seclusion and hand the public what it is accustomed to ask for when—and if—it seeks us out in our sequestered desk chairs? No! We care because self-education is a real necessity for the good life and we'd like to see a greater number of people truly enjoying themselves. Self-education can fill a lonely hour, it can solve the problems of a frustrated hour, it can lessen the deadening effect of modern industry and it can teach us how to help the other fellow. Perhaps it seems that this business of richer, more meaningful lives for all sounds just too, too platitudinous—but mental illness is increasing, the sound of the divorce court gavel practically alternates with the peal of the wedding bell, and the number of people who are ready to fight somebody or hate somebody augurs but poorly for the good life in a peaceful world. Consider the daily losses in happiness and effective living by people who do not know the contents of books! Yes, we certainly care.

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Mr. and Mrs. Public should think of the library not as an institution, but rather as a place where their jolly friend, Miss Bookpeddler, is ready to give them useful materials which suit their present needs and point up their future possibilities. There's a very great deal in a name. When Librarians are so good that many patrons know and remember their names, the use of libraries will increase.

Although it would be difficult to do, since for so long libraries have run in the Dewey Decimal groove, it may well be that they can never be personalized until the system of grouping books is changed. Daily there are great issues which the American people need to face squarely and to have bolstered with as many facts as possible. If only libraries could get out of the Dewey Decimal groove and put together books relating to great issues whether they are fiction, history, poetry or sociology!

The library generally has tended to emphasize its custodial functions and has been perhaps too ready to take a passive position regarding the education of adults. At the adult level, education is a voluntary matter but this still leaves broad scope for measures to encourage learning, as many libraries are demonstrating. The matter of just what part the library should play in the community adult-education picture will be the major concern of this chapter.

What has been said of the library is equally true of the museum. Basically the two are identical in their approach—they bring together certain materials in organized form in order to increase the usefulness of these materials to the variety of activities of living. Both the library and the museum are moving out from behind their façades and are ready and eager to work with groups all over the community. For various reasons the book has been the dominant resource

unit in our culture and therefore we have more libraries than museums, but there is a growing awareness of the values of functional exhibits, and the museum may be expected to take a more prominent place in the coming picture of community education.

It is impossible here to list all the kinds of services that libraries provide. And the headings used below fail to convey the ingenuity and skill which individual librarians have revealed in carrying out some of these activities. In services to groups, a number of libraries, for example, have recognized the growth of workers' education and have set out to work with union groups in their communities. The story of what five libraries (Akron, Boston, Milwaukee, New York, and Newark) have done in this area is told in a pamphlet of the American Library Association.[4]

The core of the library's work centers around materials in print—books primarily, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers. As new kinds of materials have been appearing, such as films, film strips, and phonograph records, the library has faced its responsibility of adding them. With budgets inadequate for printed materials, many libraries have been understandably hesitant about adding these new materials, but logic is clearly on the side of making the library the source of all these kinds of records.

As a reminder of the kinds of services that libraries are providing, we have listed the kinds of activities found in the descriptions of the work of the library. The list does not attempt to cover everything which is done by some libraries; it includes, rather, the major functions.

Services Directed Primarily to the Individual Patron

1. Lending books which patrons request.
2. Giving assistance in locating appropriate books. This may be specific or general.
3. Preparing annotated bibliographies.
4. Lending pictures, prints, and related materials.
5. Lending phonograph records, including both music and records of speeches, discussions, etc.
6. Lending films and film strips.
7. Giving instruction in use of library.
8. Providing service to outlying areas through branch libraries and the bookmobile.
9. Showing films and television programs for patrons.

Services Directed Primarily to Groups

1. Preparing book lists in connection with group programs.
2. Arranging book collections at the group meetings or at the library at the time of the meeting.
3. Providing program services to clubs.

4. Providing films, film strips, and recordings (and sometimes projectors) for meetings.
5. Sponsoring groups on current affairs.
6. Sponsoring groups on the American Heritage.
7. Sponsoring Great Books groups.
8. Providing meeting space for groups.
9. Sponsoring film discussion groups.

Services at the Community Level

1. Serving as a central information service.
2. Serving as consultant to community groups.
3. Cooperating with colleges in providing courses at convenient points throughout the community.
4. Developing special programs for specific groups, such as Golden Age Clubs, labor unions, etc.
5. Providing headquarters and staff service for an adult-education council.

How Much of the Library's Work Is Educational?

Because we have tended to think of the library as a "strongbox," we have tended to emphasize materials rather than users. As long as the emphasis has been on the side of handling materials, there has been an underemphasis on the educational aspects of the work of the librarian. For this reason we believe that librarians have often failed to fulfill their full responsibilities in the community picture. The library profession is working hard to change this emphasis, and librarians are doing much to sensitize citizens to participation.

Cyril Houle has made a logical analysis of the work of the library in relation to two conceptions of education.[5] He points out that education can be thought of as synonymous with experience or it can be used in a more restricted sense to mean that part of experience in which there is conscious, deliberate attention to the improvement of learning.

> . . . if we take the first definition of adult education all libraries, inasmuch as they provide the tools of learning for those who wish to use them, are adult educational institutions. Anything which they do to enlarge the number of these tools or make them more widely available is, in a sense, adult education. In such a case, the extension of the library itself is an extension of adult education.
>
> If we take the second definition, we are committed to a more positive programme. We accept the fact that the library must take the lead in stimulating, and helping to shape, the desire to learn on the part of the people of its community. Since only a small percentage of people in the most favoured commu-

nities use the facilities of their libraries and since the majority of the people of the world have at best only mediocre library service, librarians must conclude that, if they are to have a greater share in the building of happier individuals and a better society, they must go beyond their role as providers of material into a more active role as adult educators.

After making this decision, librarians ordinarily move in one of two general directions:

The first is to develop a set of special activities, often carried out by a separate division or branch of the library. In the United States adult education has sometimes seemed to be synonymous with readers' advisory services, reading lists for special interest groups, the work of subject-matter specialists, the provision of audio-visual aids, or programmes of public relations designed to persuade people to support and use their libraries. In such an approach, the new service takes its place alongside the old ones. If there is a new department, it exists beside the more traditional ones and makes its own fight for a place in the budgetary sun.

A second approach considers that adult education is not a special emphasis of the library but a central theme running through all aspects of service. Often those who have started with a special department have found that its work, unless it is rigorously limited, spreads out far beyond the original scope of service and creates problems of internal organization. Such libraries have therefore frequently turned from the first to the second approach to adult education.

The implications of this approach for the re-examination of the library's organization and programme of service are of the most far-reaching sort. All the parts of the library are drawn into the planning for the accomplishment of the library's educational programme. Specialized departments dealing with such functions as readers' advisory service or extension activities have an important place, but so do all the other sections of the library's organization, staff and programme. Cooperative staff planning becomes essential, as do integration of effort and evaluation of progress and outcomes.

Houle then goes on to point out that the library is a multipurpose agency. He does not believe that adult education covers all the activities in which a library does or should engage. This depends largely upon how one uses terms. Research and reference work we would consider a part of deliberate education as he has defined it above. Recreation certainly is not identical with education, but the careful planning of recreation for adults involves an educational approach on the part of librarians. Houle's statement to which we are referring follows:[6]

Some librarians feel that adult education is of such great importance that the library should be given over entirely to it. It is hard to agree with this contention.

A library ordinarily exists to serve several functions simultaneously. If one analyzes these functions in terms of the purposes of the borrower, there appear to be at least five major ones. Some people use the library as a tool for research, either contributing to the sum of human knowledge or undertaking some special task required for an immediate purpose. Some use it for recreation, as they would a park or a theatre. And some use it for education, in the second of the two major meanings of that term. (In the first meaning, all of the functions of the library are educational.)

The library must therefore be considered a multi-purpose agency. Only very seldom does it have some one function—research, perhaps, or recreation—as its only goal. As the person who is going on a journey must strike some balance between speed, comfort, and economy, so the librarian must think constantly not about some one goal but about many. No matter what emphases he may like to lay upon particular goals, he has a responsibility to serve his community as it wishes to be served. Furthermore, the other four functions are convenient stepping-stones toward education. For education should have a kind of pre-eminent role among the five. Experience which is consciously directed toward the improvement of the individual, the group, or society has a potency for good which is far beyond that which is directed toward other ends.

The reader should note again that this question as to the extent to which librarians should be considered adult educators is a controversial one. The authors' position lies further toward making all librarians educators than do most other discussions of this point.

There is much administrative detail in the work of a library. This may not be directly educational in nature, but its purpose is educational. The selection and procurement of books, films, and other durable records of man's ideas (and lack of them), the organization of these to facilitate ready and widespread use, and the steady working with the potential consumer, singly and in groups, to increase his readiness to use these resources are all part of a task that is truly educational: the enrichment of living through ideas. To confine the term "adult education" to the readers' advisor, to leaders of group activities, and to a small number of similar specialists is to underestimate the decisions that have to be made at countless points in the work of the library. Even the children's librarian works with parents.

What Is the Role of the Library in the Community Adult-education Program?

As adult education comes to assume the responsibilities which it must in our interdependent industrial democracy, the relations among agencies become more important. Consequently it is important to define as clearly as possible just what

services the library should undertake to perform in relation to those provided by other agencies and groups.

Such a definition assumes a democratic way of reaching decisions about function. Some community agencies resist efforts to define functions because of a fear that the scope of their work will be reduced. Actually, the size and scope of the adult-education task are such that more and not less will be required of existing agencies. This, in turn, leads to a fear on the part of some librarians that they may not be adequate to new responsibilities. These fears and resistances need to be recognized and dealt with in the in-service activities for persons with adult-education responsibilities.

One of the most widely discussed and quoted statements on the role of the library is Alvin Johnson's *The Public Library—A People's University*. After visiting libraries throughout the United States and talking widely with librarians, users, and potential users, Johnson states his conclusions regarding what the library can do as follows:[7]

> There are three possibilities for the development of an effective system of adult education. The first is the extension of the work of the public schools, the colleges and universities, into this field. The second is the development into an independent educational system of the various tentative private or cooperative plans now in operation. The third is to develop the public library into a permanent center of adult education, informally, a people's university.

Johnson agrees that there are certain phases of adult education that schools and colleges can carry on best, but he believes that they are by tradition poorly equipped to do the larger job of working with adults. He then goes on to discuss his second and third alternatives.[8]

> Adult education proper involves the application by each individual of the resources of a fairly trained mind to the issues that press in upon his experience. The issues need not be contemporary in their data but they need to be immediate in their bearing, vital to the citizen of the present. Adult education can not thrive under compulsions and rewards. It therefore transcends the experience and rejects the technique of the school and college teacher. Indeed, the adult needs not a teacher but a leader, a leader as the term was understood before the days of Mussolini and Hitler, a person who had experienced the same need and was one lap ahead.
>
> Voluntary organizations for study and discussion come nearer to meeting the requirement of a good adult educational setup. There is no trace of compulsion

in them—except in the rare instance of an exclusive organization that by majority vote has decided to go intellectual. Such leadership as there is can not be preceptorial or dictatorial. The one grave weakness of such organizations is their fleeting character. Almost everyone has joined forums, lunch clubs, dinner clubs in high hopes of a continuous experience of competent discussion, only to find the organization breaking up when every member has said his say often enough to be boring.

There are indeed cases of the continued survival through generations of such organizations as academies of science and political science clubs, as well as instances of long-continued educational programs under organizations deriving their vitality from noneducational forces. No doubt much might be made of the tendency to organize, even vainly, for intellectual purposes. But any progress in this direction involves the right kind of leadership. It is difficult to see where such leadership can come from, except from the public library.

The public library has, as a first requisite of leadership in the adult educational field, control of the supply of books. And books, I may repeat, contain the better part of the essentials of adult education. The public library has built up its scheme of behavior in relation to a public which, unlike the school population, refuses to submit to compulsion. Adult education can deal only with volunteers. The public library, north of Mason and Dixon's line, is remarkably free from censorship, and the real adult despises censorship, doubts that any honest conclusions can be reached where one side is suppressed. The public library, with its numerous branches, is in a position to reach a larger proportion of the population of a city than any other institution except the public school.

Johnson then discusses the limitations standing in the way of the library's assumption of this leadership: excessive modesty, lack of right kind of books, inadequacy of personnel, inadequacy of financial support. He believes that none of these is impossible to overcome and concludes with this paragraph:[9]

It would be foolish and unjust to fail to acknowledge the fact that the American public library, as it stands today, is a remarkable achievement, indeed, one of the outstanding American contributions to civilization. I know of no department in our national life that exhibits a greater proportion of able and devoted leaders, men and women of outstanding personality whose work will live on beyond them, beneficently. They have laid a broad base for an institution that will have an even greater future when it shall boldly take to itself the leadership in adult education which it alone is capable of developing, and shall make itself over into a people's university, sound bulwark of a democratic state.

The most thoroughgoing study of the public library was one proposed by the American Library Association and carried out by a distinguished research committee of the Social Science Research Council under a grant by the Carnegie Corporation. Robert D. Leigh, chairman of the committee, wrote the over-all report, entitled *The Public Library in the United States.*[10] The report gives a vigorous statement of the underlying faith and objectives of the library:

Libraries of all kinds during the centuries of their existence have had a common objective—one so generally accepted that it is seldom made explicit. It is the conservation and organization of the world's resources of recorded thought and fact so as to make them available for present and future users. This is an obvious utility for any civilization as soon as it feels the need for something more than oral tradition. And the library, including the public library, has become in most places a kind of symbol as well as servant of culture.

Throughout the years librarians have transformed their concept of function into a dynamic faith. This faith has sustained the men and women who have built and operated American public, as well as university and research, libraries and the men of wealth and political position who have provided for their financial and legal support. It consists of a belief in the virtue of the printed word, especially of the book, the reading of which is held to be good in itself or from its reading flows that which is good.

In order to see to what extent librarians agreed upon the objectives of the public library, the inquiry staff formulated a broad statement which was circulated among librarians. Leigh's report on the reaction to the statement and the text of the statement itself are given in the next selection.[11]

Clearly, although opinion was not unanimous, there was a consensus in approval of the objectives. Only two librarians rejected the whole statement as inaccurate or misleading. Concerning four points in the document, however, a minority, each very small numerically, dissented with considerable conviction. . . . Making full allowance for them, however, the document may be accepted as setting forth the aims of most public librarians in the United States.

The statement follows:

A. General Definition of Objectives
1. To assemble, preserve, and administer books and related educational materials in organized collections, in order to promote, through guidance and stimulation, an enlightened citizenship and enriched personal lives.
2. To serve the community as a general center of reliable information.

3. To provide opportunity and encouragement for children, young people, men, and women to educate themselves continuously.

B. Fields of Knowledge and Interest to which the Public Library Should Devote its Resources

1. *Public Affairs; citizenship*
   a. To awaken interest, stimulate reading and discussion on crucial problems;
   b. To improve people's ability to participate usefully in activities in which they are involved as citizens of their communities, the United States, and the world;
   c. To help people develop a constructively critical attitude toward all public issues and to remove ignorance regarding them;
   d. To promote democratic attitudes and values; i.e., sensitivity toward peoples of other backgrounds by knowledge concerning them and by appreciation of the dignity of the individual person; preservation of the precious heritage of freedom of expression; and understanding of the democratic processes of group life.
2. *Vocations*

   To equip persons, and to keep them equipped, for efficient activities in useful occupations and practical affairs (including vocational information, parent and home education, child care, nutrition, physical health, emotional stability and growth, budgeting and consumer information, specialized business and industrial information).
3. *Aesthetic appreciation*

   To seek to give people an opportunity to improve their capacity for appreciation and production in cultural fields.
4. *Recreation*

   To help people make such use of leisure time as will promote personal happiness and social well-being.
5. *Information*

   To help people keep abreast of progress in the sciences and other fields of knowledge, and to furnish them with the detailed information required for their personal projects and everyday needs.
6. *Research*

   To serve those who are aiding in the advancement of knowledge.

C. Library Means for Attaining the Library Objectives

1. *Kinds of materials*

   Library collections are founded on the printed page, but should be supplemented by films, recordings, and radio; also by lectures, forums, and discussion groups.
2. *Availability of materials*

   By selection and organization libraries should make an educational instrument out of a welter of records; by cooperative acquisition, inter-library loans, and book pools they should insure to their patrons accessibility to the world's useful knowledge; their materials should be free to all residents on equal terms; and library service should be established where it is not now available.
3. *Guidance*

   Librarians should mediate between seekers for knowledge and the recorded materials which contain and increase knowledge, thus eliminating the gap between the seekers and sources of information and ideas.

4. *Stimulation and leadership*

   Libraries should have a positive program of stimulation in the use of library materials, selecting subjects for emphasis with the view to replacing indifference by interest, and of exercising an influence on what people think about, without attempting to tell them what conclusions they should reach.

   The library, in cooperation with all other agencies of education and information, should seek to increase the competence of people to form sound judgments and to realize that they should not only understand about important public problems, but also express their opinions and act in accordance with their judgment. The library should assist in the establishment and improvement of community group programs, and adapt programs to the interests of special groups. At the same time, the library's duty remains that of providing reliable information on all sides of controversial questions.

5. *Emphasis*

   During the next four years (1948-1952), librarians should change the intensity, the duration, and even the nature of their services so that they will contribute directly to the solution of the crucial problems of our time.

   They should make sure that opinion leaders and other citizens have the widest possible range of reliable information on which to base their judgments and action.

   Libraries should provide themselves with generous supplies of these materials even if by so doing it means some curtailment of acquisition of popular and general materials.

Setting this current statement of public library objectives alongside the librarian's historic faith reveals a strong family resemblance between the two. The individual and social values which derive from a reading of books is central to both. But in the newer statement of objectives there are significant extensions of the traditional definition of purpose. The public library's function is explicitly broadened to include other materials of communication, including non-print materials. Perhaps more important, the faith in the mere presence of a community book collection as a power to change people's ideas, attitudes, and tastes, is now transformed into a positive program for libraries to guide, stimulate, and promote public use of public library materials for educational ends.

The inquiry then examined the activities of various other agencies that might be involved in the same area. This study of services now being or likely to be performed was compared with the needs of our society. From this the inquiry derived four functions which it believed were appropriate to noncommercial agencies of communication:[12]

1. To serve as centers for contemporary materials selected from each year's output by the judgment of experts as the most reliable and authoritative, including artistic products of merit as determined by competent critics; and the promotion of the use of such materials by all available means.

2. To serve as centers where materials selected to give adequate and balanced representation to new, critical, often unpopular ideas, and to the preclassical, contemporary, unusual, and experimental in the arts can be brought into full use.
3. To serve as centers for the selection, organization, and promotion of the use of materials which are not new, but of great current relevance because of their enduring quality.
4. To serve as centers of selection, collection, and organization of the whole range of valuable materials in the form of print, picture, record, and film, in such a way as to focus the full resources of record quickly and easily on a particular subject or problem for those seeking such a service.

These four functions are not likely to be performed adequately or at all by the commercial media, characterized as they are by large volume and maximum coverage of the population. It is clear that the functions are not justified by the numbers of people reached so much as by the socially-valuable interests which they serve. They are functions which are made more rather than less necessary by the very flood of materials produced and distributed by commercial means. They seem, moreover, to be functions especially appropriate for performance by the library as a public institution.

The Official Objectives and the Appropriate Services

If we turn back to compare this definition of appropriate function arrived at by our survey of the whole machinery of public communication with the public library's own statements of historic faith and current official objectives, it seems evident that the librarians have been on the right track in describing their purposes. With some differences in phraseology, the librarian's definitions of objectives, with their emphasis on assembling and organizing educational materials, guidance and stimulation in their use, serving as a center of reliable information, freedom of access to reliable information on all sides of controversial questions, and giving people an opportunity to improve their capacity for appreciation and production in cultural fields, are in essential agreement with the four functions deduced from the general analysis of the business of communication. The official library objectives thus seem to mark the almost inevitable road for public libraries to follow if they are to play their appropriate role as a public agency of communication.

The inquiry recognized four institutions as standing out in the total picture of adult education: the Agricultural Extension Service, the services of colleges and universities, the state and local school systems, and the public libraries. It found the libraries generally less developed than the other three, and it raised

questions about possible relations among the four whereby the library could provide services to the others:[13]

Naturally the question arises as to whether the public library, with its special skill and resources centered in books and other materials, should not be called upon to serve the other formal adult education agencies, as it now serves the various informal clubs and groups in the community. Only rarely did we find a public library that is recognized as the library of these enterprises in the sense that school, college, or university libraries serve their parent institutions in the instruction of children and young people. There were instances of cooperation between county libraries and county agricultural extension agencies, but not enough so that the county library serves as the materials center for the extension program. In some cases the city school adult classes leaned heavily on public libraries for class reading materials. The same was true of university adult education classes. But in no place in our sample is the public library clearly recognized as the official library unit for the school, university, or community adult education program.

The public library, then, has not become either a major center of formally organized adult education under its own initiative, nor does it serve as the officially designated library for the existing major agencies of formal adult education. Nevertheless, to the extent of its means, in terms of materials and skilled personnel, the libraries provide opportunity for many men and women individually or organized into informal groups to continue their education as adults. In this sense it furnishes the essential library service for the host of activities and efforts which have somewhat romantically been called the people's university.

The inquiry report stirred up considerable discussion among librarians regarding the function of the public library. The March 1950 issue of *Public Libraries* dealt with the general topic "If Not the People's University—Then What?" Emerson Greenaway, Director of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore made the following statement of the library's role:[14]

I strongly feel, in regard to adult education and the public library, that the following should obtain during the decade to come:

(1) That public libraries accept as their basic objectives the provision and servicing of expertly selected books and other materials which aid the individual in the pursuit of education, information, or research, and in the creative use of leisure time. Since financial limitations generally prevent

equal emphasis on all aspects of these objectives, the library should recognize that its *major* concern must be a positive contribution toward the removal of ignorance, intolerance and indifference.

(2) That we recognize educational service to adults as a primary function, and that the library pursue an active program of stimulation, leadership, and cooperation with other agencies in encouraging the reading of socially significant materials.

(3) That we accept the responsibility for the direct communication of ideas through organization of discussion groups, institutes, film forums, and the like, seeking thereby to direct the individual toward a continuous learning process through use of books and related materials.

(4) That we frankly state that in meeting its objective of providing recreational materials, the library encourage such use of leisure time as will promote personal development and social well-being, and tend increasingly to leave to commercial agencies the provision of trivial, purely ephemeral materials.

(5) That our cooperation with other agencies include:

(*A*) A clearing house to prevent an unnecessary duplication of programs and provide for the integration of programs to tackle common problems;

(*B*) The provision of expertly selected materials and book lists covering non-teaching or supplementary materials for informal adult education programs given by any agency;

(*C*) The recognition of the so-called "text-book problem" by all parties concerned and the possible development of a reserved book service jointly financed by those agencies offering courses requiring the use of such materials. In other words it should *not* be the function of the public library to supply "required" reading materials, as this is a responsibility of the agency giving the course;

(*D*) The realization that urban and rural problems are so different that separate programs and policies may have to be set up.

In closing, two more comments seem pertinent. First, we all must remember the phrase "will to do." The human element, that personal something—enthusiasm, faith, intuition or an intense belief in the task at hand, may be the determining factor in deciding just what a local public library program should be. And secondly, let's not forget what Dr. Leigh had to say about popular control and expert direction wherein he cautioned that the exercise of professional judgement is a delegated function, and that in a democracy professional administration will be checked by the lay opinion of the community and will be subject to its ultimate control. Can we as public librarians be smart enough to lay our course, win friends and influence people and achieve a lay opinion that will back our professional judgement? I hope so.

We think it may be desirable to get away from the term "people's university" lest it confuse rather than clarify our thinking of the role of the library. We would sum up by noting that through all of these discussions there is a large common core. The library, having major resources in the way of materials, must necessarily work in the closest cooperation with all other groups in adult education. At the same time there will be certain activities which should be conducted directly by the library. The nature of these activities should be determined through a careful study of the community needs by all the agencies offering adult-education services. The decision regarding which of these needs should be met by the library can then be made in relation to its resources. (For a discussion of program planning and coordination, see Chap. 13.)

Problems and Possibilities

The inquiry clearly indicates the same faith in the potentialities of the library as did Alvin Johnson earlier. Although better financing is crucial to the realization of better services, financing depends, in turn, upon an understanding by citizens generally of the role of the library and the museum in adult education. All persons interested in adult education, therefore, share in the tasks of developing a broad understanding of (*1*) the role of adult education in a democracy, and (*2*) the unique services best provided through libraries and museums. We shall leave further discussion of problems of interrelations among agencies, of blocks to action, and of united next steps to the Part IV of this book. We turn here to some examples of special problems of libraries.

Services to All

The most effective libraries are found chiefly in the larger cities. Although modern transportation makes it possible for persons living at considerable distances outside the cities to come in fairly frequently, the figures show that distance is inversely related to use. Equitable distribution of facilities requires decentralization of services. Within the city, the branch library provides this. Beyond the city limits, regional libraries are an effort in this direction. A number of states have been experimenting with regional libraries. Excerpts from a report by Charles Armstrong describe such an experiment in New York State:[15]

The survey of library services in the state showed that about one and one-half million people in the state lived in communities that had no public library service. Many more had such poor service that the public libraries were of little value to them. The most serious problems centered in the sparsely settled regions served by small libraries. The State Library and the State Library Extension Division backed up the small libraries by loaning them books and providing some advisory services, but these services were too distant and too meager to

offset the inefficiency of the small units. At the same time, the survey found that the small units had great value in their closeness to the community and in the encouragement they have to local initiative and control. The particular scheme proposed for regional service was carefully designed to achieve the needed efficiency while leaving the small libraries independent. The goals set in the survey were as follows:

1. All citizens of the state should be able to get easily as many books and other library materials as they will use.
2. All citizens of the state should be able to get answers to reasonable requests for information submitted through local libraries.
3. All children, both in and out of school, should be able to get well-selected library materials.
4. All citizens of the state should have the services of professionally trained librarians available as needed.

For reasonable efficiency in achieving the goal of a good book stock, the survey found that at least 20,000, and preferably more than 100,000, persons should be served by a single library unit. Similarly, the efficient purchase and cataloging of books required a minimum population of 40,000, and preferably more than 100,000, persons in a unit. However, the lending and direct public contact function could be efficiently performed in a unit serving 5,000 persons or possibly even fewer, if these outlets were immediately supported by the services of a larger unit.

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County-wide Service

According to the plan, the responsibility for extending the services to the unserved of the area in addition to improving existing library services lay with the local community (school district, village, town, or county), while the state was ready to offer professional advice and encouragement and materials when the localities were prepared to receive them. It was believed that this extension should be planned on a county—or region—wide scale by the local boards described previously.

During the first two years of the experiment there was limited local activity leading toward county-wide local service in the Watertown area. The county boards of supervisors gave the problems some attention, and local library leaders held some meetings. There was undoubtedly considerable hesitation among the county supervisors in undertaking a cooperative program with the Regional Library Service Center as long as the state assistance was on an experimental and, possibly, temporary basis. They may have been reluctant to form boards to make plans involving expenditure of local funds for projects which could not be carried through unless the state continued to operate the center.

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SUMMARY

1. Financial support is increasing more rapidly in this area than in other similar communities selected as a control group. There is local interest in the extension of library service to unserved areas.
2. Library personnel are improving the services offered. In-service training has increased, the morale of the public librarians has risen, and a sense of regional unity has developed among them. There is still a great deal more to be done, however, before they will be making maximum use of the resources available.
3. Library use has increased much more rapidly in the Watertown region than in the control area. The increase in library use has been largely in the borrowing of adult non-fiction and juvenile books. Thus the character of reading appears to have shifted toward the more serious books for adults and toward greater diversity in the types of books read.

   The proportion of the people using the libraries is small in most communities in the Watertown area, but in some communities as many as half the residents have borrowed books within the single year.
4. Unit costs for the library operations performed are about the same as those in the average city library, but considerable reduction appears to be possible as operations are brought into line with more efficient practices. Books have been delivered promptly to the libraries requesting them.
5. Relatively little progress has been made in providing reference service. Attention has been centered on circulation, but reference service will receive more attention in the future.

Libraries and Mass Media

Libraries were established to make books more widely available, and books have naturally dominated the picture. With the rapid development of films, radio, and television, our patterns of communication are changing and the responsibilities of libraries and museums will need to be seen in a different perspective. At a UNESCO seminar on Libraries in Adult and Fundamental Education, one of the study groups presented the following points regarding audio-visual materials:[16]

It is too much to say that a library must, of absolute necessity, seize eagerly upon the new communication aids as a *sine qua non* of effective work in the field of adult education, for many libraries are doing dynamic work without the help of the mass media. It may be said, however, that no librarian is adequately prepared for the demands which he or she may be called upon to meet unless

there is an awareness of the power and limitations of the new aids, a knowledge of utilization methods and techniques, a working knowledge of the methods of relating the audio-visual aids with established library methods and an ability to judge when local conditions are such as to demand that the facilities of the library to disseminate knowledge and information should be enhanced by the adoption of new materials.

There are a few key ideas . . . to discuss . . . :

First, audio-visual aids are a logical extension of the informational function of the library and cannot be neglected if the end of disseminating knowledge and information is to be adequately served.

Second, because of the physical nature and cost of these aids, and the danger to library standards which springs from their great popular appeal, it is essential that the librarian should consider the over-all effect of their adoption upon his institution. He should above all be satisfied that the community is prepared to use the new tools effectively.

Third, the obvious public-relations value of the films and other audio-visual aids should be placed second to their contribution, through the library, to better human relations within the community.

Fourth, there are minimum, median and maximum programmes of audio-visual work which any librarian should consider thoroughly before making any decision for or against starting a programme.

Fifth, for all but the largest libraries it is essential that there be a willingness on the part of community workers to cooperate with the library in the programme. This brings up the subject of such devices as volunteer aid, film councils, and evaluation panels.

Sixth, the process of film selection differs from that of book selection because the film is seen by a group. Therefore the librarian should make use of expert opinion in the community to an extent never demanded by the book.

Seventh, the physical handling of audio-visual aids raises problems which must be met realistically. It is foolish to labour the idea that because films and other audio-visual aids may serve the same end as books, they should be handled identically. Further, the formula which may suit a large, well-staffed library may be completely unsuited to a smaller library.

Eighth, it is likewise foolish to insist upon the idea of "tying the book to the film" or *vice versa*: the broad view of a subject given by a film may, in that it is given to the many, be just as important, from the community standpoint, as is the deeper knowledge gained from the book and given to the few.

Ninth, a knowledge of group techniques on the part of the librarian is just as important as the acquisition of materials for group education, for by this knowledge the true value of all the communication media can be realized. That is, librarians can only play their true role in the adult education programme if they

know how the group reacts to books, films, filmstrips, radio, television and other media.

Finally, in a large library, in a large community, it may be enough for a librarian to fill the traditional role of a custodian of informational materials: books, films, maps, or anything else. But the librarian of today has gained recognition as an educator and this involves an active, not merely a passive participation. In the smaller community, where there may be no other person upon whom the burden of guidance may fall, the librarian may have to recognize that he has no choice but to leave the role of custodian and become an educator in the full sense of the word. We must know the methods of mass education and recognize the signs which indicate that the library may not be doing its part.

Freedom of Access to Information. As the mass media develop, certain problems of balance arise and the relationship of books to other types of communication becomes increasingly important. Luther Evans, Librarian of the Library of Congress and Head of the U. S. Commission for UNESCO, has made an analysis of this problem which points out the vital role of the library in ensuring adequate access to all sides of all questions. He notes that books and pamphlets still require small investments in contrast to the very large investments required for other forms of communication. It is through books and pamphlets that dissenting voices can most certainly be assured of a hearing. But this hearing requires effective libraries, and Evans refers to the library inquiry to indicate the present inadequacy:[17]

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press we justly prize as among the inalienable rights of the individual. But it is upon the correlatives of these—freedom to hear and freedom to read—that all our other freedoms rest. For these are not only among the basic rights of society; they are among the necessary conditions of the existence of a free social order. The perpetuation of a free society requires not only that men have the legal right to hear and read the truth, to see information from varied sources, to explore divergent views, to be exposed to new or heretical ideas but that they have the actual opportunity to do so. And the perpetuation of our cultural health similarly requires that men have not only the right but the means to encounter a wide variety of intellectual expression and to share with contemporary creators in the arts their fresh and emerging perceptions of the human experience. Free participation in the state exists only where there is free participation in information; the commonwealth of the human spirit is shared only so widely as the works in which it is embodied are shared.

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The instruments of public information to accomplish that enlightenment are certainly abundant. No people ever spent so many hours of every week reading newspapers and popular magazines, listening to radio comment, observing television programs, and sitting through movies. At times there seems to exist for us not merely the freedom but the compulsion to read and hear. But all these through which we are so unremittingly approached have one disturbing characteristic; they are instruments through which one or a controllable number of views can simultaneously reach large masses of men. This characteristic lends itself to ideological monopoly. Even where totalitarian usages are not involved, we have seen in our own country the ominous aptitude of the mass media for creating and disseminating one accepted view or a single cultural pattern.

This tendency is indeed difficult to escape. The economics of the mass media are such as to require a mass market for their support. . . .

This is not to say that the mass media are inherently or usually or even often harmful. On the contrary, they are indispensably useful in purveying the great mass of information and entertainment that is of interest to most people. If the opportunities for recreation given by them were cut off this would be a drear place; and without the flow of news achieved by the mass media the functioning of our society would be impossible. However, the mass media cannot fill one of our great contemporary social needs, and it is highly important that there be other readily available sources of information and means of cultural expression as a corrective to their inherent tendency toward uniformity.

Books are almost the only medium that can fill this need. . . . Even the smallest organization can still afford to publish a book or a pamphlet. Both the specialized learned institution and the small committee with a "cause" find in the book their means of expression.

Moreover, books are the only general medium of communication under the control of the recipient. A man who wants to experience "Hamlet" may have to wait months or even years before he has a chance to see it on the screen or stage or television or hear it over the radio; but he can read it when he chooses. Though the educational potentialities of the other media are enormous, it is only by rare coincidence that a man impelled to find out something about nuclear fission or cancer control will be able to tune in on a program that will answer his questions; but if he has access to a good collection of books he can get immediately what he wants. A man in the average small city has a choice on a given evening of two or six radio programs, perhaps half a dozen movies, two or three television programs, or at least a couple of newspapers. In his public library he may have his choice of tens of thousands of books.

. . . The mass media have always the menace of becoming the instrument by which the user is controlled, but the book is always and inherently his servant.

An indispensable means is the public library. Though individuals can assemble books that are the working tools of their profession and buy books from

time to time that attract them, only the very rich can afford to create private libraries capable of placing at command any considerable portion of available intellectual resources. Even had one the means to buy, only a few bookstores in the largest cities can afford to maintain stocks from which to choose that are at all comparable to those of a reasonably good public library. It is of the essence of the book's utility that it gives the user the choice not only among ephemerally appearing products but among the organized accumulation of knowledge and recorded expression; and this only the library can do.

For an institution of such superlative social importance the public library in the United States has faltered alarmingly in support and in accomplishment. . . .

The blunt fact is that almost no Americans living outside rather large cities—and this means most of us—have access to a library capable of giving really good service, as pointed out in Robert D. Leigh's "The Public Library in the United States."

A Living Force

We close this discussion of the library with a manifesto by UNESCO regarding the public library:[18]

UNESCO, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, has been created by the will of 46 countries. Its aim is to promote peace and social and spiritual welfare by working through the minds of men. The creative power of UNESCO, is the force of knowledge and international understanding.

This manifesto, by describing the potentialities of the public library, proclaims UNESCO's belief in the public library as a living force for popular education and for the growth of international understanding, and thereby for the promotion of peace.

The public library is a product of modern democracy and a practical demonstration of democracy's faith in universal education as a life-long process.

Though primarily intended to serve the educational needs of adults, the public library should also supplement the work of the schools in developing the reading tastes of children and young people, helping them to become adults who can use books with appreciation and profit.

As a democratic institution, operated by the people for the people, the public library should be:

1. Established and maintained under clear authority of law.
2. Supported wholly or mainly from public funds.

3. Open for free use on equal terms to all members of the community, regardless of occupation, creed, class or race.

The complete library should provide: books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, maps, pictures, films, music scores and recordings—and give guidance in their use.

The public library should offer children, young people, men and women, opportunity and encouragement:

1. To educate themselves continuously.
2. To keep abreast of progress in all fields of knowledge.
3. To maintain freedom of expression and a constructively critical attitude toward all public issues.
4. To be better social and political citizens of their country and of the world.
5. To be more efficient in their day-to-day activities.
6. To develop their creative capacities and powers of appreciation in arts and letters.
7. To aid generally in the advancement of knowledge.
8. To use their leisure time to promote personal happiness and social well-being.

The public library should be active and positive in its policy and a dynamic part of community life.

It should not tell people what to think, but it should help them to decide what to think about. The spotlight should be thrown on significant issues by exhibition, booklists, discussions, lectures, courses, films and individual reading guidance.

Reading interests should be stimulated and the library's services publicized through a well-planned continuous public-relations programme.

The public library should link its activities with the work of other educational, cultural and social agencies—the schools, universities, museums, labour unions, study clubs, adult education groups, etc. It should also cooperate with other libraries in the loan of publications and with library associations for the advancement of public librarianship.

The books in the library should be made accessible on open shelves and by use of efficient technical processes; and the library's services should be brought close to the homes and work places of the people by means of branches and mobile units.

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What You Can Do

This manifesto has described the potentialities of the public library as an agency for popular education. Obviously it is to your great personal advantage to have these potentialities realized in your community. What can you do to help?

If your community does not have public library services:

Interest your friends and neighbors and local organizations in obtaining such service.

Ask your national library association or Ministry of Education what steps you should take to get public library service.

Follow through on the action recommended.

If your community now has a public library:

Get acquainted with the librarian.

Find out what services are offered.

Use these services.

Work with the librarian to promote local support and demand the standard of service endorsed in this manifesto.

The picture we have given about the library (and it would apply equally to the museum) in the adult-education picture is admittedly not yet widely achieved. Our descriptions are of best practice, not of modal services. There are large sections of our population that have no library service at all and only a small percentage of citizens that get service that could be considered adequate. The typical library is undersupported and lacks the trained staff and equipment necessary to do the job. Loyalty cannot make up for leadership. It is up to all of us to work for what we know is possible and what we believe is vital for adult education.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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IN THIS CHAPTER we shall attempt to identify some of the major characteristics and problems of public-school adult-education in the United States. Other descriptive material on public-school programs will be found in Chapter 4. In Chapter 13, some reference is also made to public-school participation in program planning and coordination of community resources. In other chapters in Part III, where problems of materials, methods, publicity, professional training, finance, and evaluation are treated as they cut across institutional areas, frequent references are made to public-school experience. This leaves for specific consideration in this chapter some of the over-all features of public-school programs, problems of administration of special concern in the public-school field, and, in a final section, the development of new services under public-school auspices.

Over-all Considerations

In this section we shall examine some of the conceptions which characterize the operation of public-school programs and some of the differing program emphases as revealed by a study of the offerings of typical adult schools. First, however, it may be helpful to get some idea of the extent and variety of public-school activities in adult education by quoting the summary paragraphs of a

survey report by Homer Kempfer, then of the U. S. Office of Education, on adult-education activities of the public schools during the school year 1947-1948.[1]

An inquiry sent to 3,613 school districts in communities having a 1940 Census population of 2,500 or more brought an 80.8 percent return. Of 2,922 districts reporting, more than four-fifths claimed to have had educational activities for adults and out-of-school youth in 1947-48, nearly half reported evening and adult schools. An estimated three-fourths of *all* districts above 2,500 population (including those not reporting) provide some kind of education for adults. A minimum of 40 percent of *all* districts above 2,500 population claim to have evening or adult schools even if nonresponse to the inquiry represents the absence of such schools.

A similar inquiry sent to 1,202 districts in smaller communities thought to have adult education activities brought a 32.5 percent return. Of 391 smaller districts reporting, over four-fifths claimed to have had adult education activities in 1947-48 and nearly two-fifths reported evening or adult schools. Nearly 10,000 other districts with superintendents in communities under 2,500 were not included in this survey.

The evening school is the major type of educational service offered adults by the public school. For every district with an evening or an adult school, however, there are approximately six other types of educational activities provided for adults and out-of-school youth. Adult education activities are relatively widely distributed throughout our public-school system, although a variety of types and fields is more often found in large communities.

Among all activities those in the recreational and vocational fields are much more widely distributed than any other. Approximately half of all evening and adult schools offer high-school subjects for adults. Only 1 out of every 8 reporting districts provide elementary education, while 18 percent with evening or adult schools offer college-level subjects for adults. Slightly less than half of all adult education programs operate in conjunction with advisory committees.

In this survey 1,951 districts in communities of 2,500 and above reported a total enrollment of 2,104,032 adults and out-of-school youth. Enrollment reported by 135 smaller districts was 72,659. Additional information leads to the estimate that a total of approximately 3,000,000 adults and out-of-school youth were provided some type of organized educational service in 1947-48.[2] Adult education is relatively highly developed in a number of schools and in a few States. The limited number of adults served by most public schools reflected against the widespread and growing interest of adults in further learning leads to the conclusion that a great many districts are providing far too little opportunity for continued education beyond the years of full-time schooling.

It should be remembered that many public-school programs for adults can trace their beginnings to the period in American life when the influx of large numbers of immigrants from foreign lands created a major need for elementary classes for adults in Americanization and literacy. During this period, it was perfectly logical for communities to turn to their public schools for adult classes through which these needs could be met. Even today, in our large urban school systems particularly, extensive programs of Americanization and literacy work are still offered.

But the concept of adult education as dominantly a remedial activity on the part of the public schools has long since been superseded by concepts of service much broader in their application to community needs. The perception of adult education as a lifelong process of learning has been characteristic of the literature in adult education and of the thinking among the professional leaders in the field for at least twenty-five years.

Although some vestiges of the earlier remedial emphasis are still to be found among certain lay groups which oppose the extension of tax-supported educational activities, the next four selections indicate how rapidly and drastically the remedial concept of public-school service has been modified. The first is a statement prepared by Thomas A. Van Sant in connection with the survey of the Lincoln, Nebraska, schools.[3]

Public schools in a democracy are responsible for meeting the educational needs of all the people of any age group when such needs are consistent with the public interest and the public welfare. This responsibility does not require the duplication of educational facilities controlled by non-public groups already satisfactorily meeting educational needs nor the elimination of such non-public organizations. However, the responsibility requires the public schools to act as the judge of the adequacy of other educational organizations. This latter provision exists in part in the right given most state departments of education to accredit or to refuse to accredit public or private schools within their jurisdiction.

The second selection is from an analysis by Paul H. Sheats.[4]

Thus far in the overwhelming majority of American communities adult education has not been looked upon as an important or even a secondary responsibility of the public educational system. There are today many school administrators and some state superintendents of public instruction who, with complete sincerity, argue that the job of the public educational system is to edu-

cate the young and that if it is to do this job well it cannot afford to get mixed up in the rather diversified assortment of activities which go on under the label of adult education. This point of view, no doubt mirroring the opinions of many school board members, dictates all kinds of decisions which drastically affect both the quantity and quality of services rendered to the out-of-school members of the community. The plans and layout of new school buildings, the purchase of equipment, the selection of teachers, the allocation of funds for salaries and supplies, if completely divorced from considerations affecting possible adult use of the school, make an extension of service difficult if not impossible.

Keep in mind that this phrase "extension of educational opportunities to adults" takes in three-fifths of our total population. We are talking about 90,000,000* people most of whom are not now the object of any special educational concern on the part of those who profess statecraft in this business of public education.

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Let us take a closer look at some of the assumptions which lie behind this particular schoolman's insistence that he is a superintendent of schools and not a director of community education. In the first place his view expresses what might be called "the scarcity theory of education." "Education is a good thing for youngsters," he would say. "In fact, in smaller amounts it is even a legitimate charge on the public treasury at the college level but, after all, this sort of thing has to stop somewhere or the school administrator will find himself running an educational program which stretches 'from the cradle to the grave.' Moreover, if adults want education let them pay for it—the school budget isn't big enough to meet existing needs at the elementary and secondary levels." Finally, our defender of the "schools are intended for children" tradition is likely to point out quite correctly that the school is not the only educational institution in the community and that it is precisely in this area of adult education where civic and private organizations are best fitted to "take over."

These assumptions and arguments must be weighed against the facts of life in these United States. . . . Whether we look at the international or domestic scene, we are faced with a complex of problems which will require intelligent group action based on carefully thought-out, long-range policies if choices are to be made in the interests of the common good. For this task our people are inadequately equipped. The 10,000,000 among us with fourth-grade educational attainment or less are only the more obviously underprivileged. The one-third without library service will find this lack a real obstacle to self-enlightenment on the issues of the day. The 54,000,000 adults in the U. S. who according to a recent survey have never heard of or read about the Atlantic Charter face the

* More recent computations use $\frac{7}{10}$ of the total population as adults. By this estimate the number of eligibles in 1950 would be approximately 105,000,000.

brave new world beyond the war somewhat inadequately equipped to arrive at an intelligent conclusion regarding its problems.

The people themselves know their needs. A careful block-by-block survey of adult education needs in Denver disclosed what 63 per cent found most lacking —an understanding of what is going on in a world at war. The search for new and improved media of communication, illustrated pamphlets, slide films, film forums, radio forums, and discussions is evidence of the need and the desire to learn.

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Nor can it be argued that the existing public and private facilities are adequate to meet these needs. Even before the war some 60 to 70 per cent of adults were not identified with any organized community group exclusive of church membership. The same Denver survey already referred to revealed that 85 per cent of the adults in that community had participated in no organized educational activity outside of job training since leaving school. A reliable authority on adult education estimates that existing programs of adult education are meeting not more than 5 per cent of the need. A survey of a Southern county with a population of 7,000 disclosed 35 active organizations ranging from music study associations to home demonstration clubs. Investigations revealed that less than 200 people comprised the total membership of all these organizations.

The magnitude and nature of the educational task to be done with and for adults requires an extension of publicly supported and school-sponsored programs. Only through programs supported by all the members of the community and administered by a staff responsible to them can this task be thoroughly and democratically carried out. We cannot afford in this country the kind of intellectual Brahmanism which assumes that a special brand of educational opportunity should be provided for and by workers, while a different product is offered for and by business men. This conception of islanded adult education with the segments unbridged by common understandings, purposes, or experiences can be avoided only if the agency charged with responsibility for educating *all* American youth serves also the educational needs of *all* adults. In fact, as the Educational Policies Commission has recently pointed out, the public school cannot adequately discharge its obligations to those for whom it was primarily and originally created unless it serves also the needs of out-of-school youth and adults through counseling service, classes, forums, recreation, library service, and through its contribution to the efficient planning and direction of community activities.

The Past-President of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., Howard Y. McClusky, of the University of Michigan, suggests that the major responsibilities of the public schools for adult education are these:[5]

To provide such educational facilities and services as it can provide more effectively than any other agency,

To cooperate with and assist other agencies with an educational function to increase the value of their educational services, and

To take chief responsibility or see that some agency takes chief responsibility for the coordination of the total educational activities of the community unless some other agency is effectively carrying on such leadership.

Roben Maaske, a Past-President of the National Education Association Department of Adult Education says,[6]

The position of superintendent of schools in these days admittedly is not an easy one, with the many vexing problems of increasing enrollments, costly building programs, broadened curricular offerings, and limited financial resources, to mention only a few. However, the superintendent who fails to do what he can to provide for the education of adults in the community is neglecting a responsibility and overlooking an opportunity.

It is the purpose of this article to provide specific suggestions for the helpful guidance of superintendents and boards of education in initiating or expanding programs of adult education in their communities. Since larger cities already have in operation well-organized and well-planned programs, the suggestions will be aimed principally toward smaller cities and communities.

In building a sound program of adult education at the community level, it is well to heed certain organizational principles which have evolved from the results of experience in communities with successful programs. These may be summarized as follows:

There should be local control and planning of the program. It is axiomatic that people are naturally more interested in anything which they have a hand in planning, and for which they assume some responsibilities. Any superimposed program is soon likely to fall of its own weight. Hence, the clear need for observing the principle of local control and planning as basic in conceiving the community program of adult education. Just how this may be done will be told later.

There should be community coordination of the necessary leadership. This principle is highly important. It points to the necessity of bringing together and coordinating the leaders of organizations, agencies, and groups in the community. It assures unified backing for the enterprise of starting an organized program of education for adults. There often exist certain jealousies and assumed prerogatives among organizations and leaders. This makes it desirable

that as many as possible be brought cooperatively into the picture at the outset. The situation varies with the community, but the superintendent will usually be cognizant of the state of affairs.

There should be local participation in financing the program. This principle is sound for the same general reasons as the first principle. The extent and manner of financial participation will vary greatly, depending upon such factors as: (*a*) amount of state aid; (*b*) local public school funds available for adult education; (*c*) ability and willingness of local organizations and agencies to assist financially; and (*d*) sentiment regarding the size of the fees for materials to be paid by local participants in the classes. It is clear, however, that as the local community makes an investment financially in the program, it stimulates a much greater general interest in the success of the undertaking.

There should be a well-balanced program of offerings to meet the varying needs and interests of the adults. The ultimate test of the success of the program depends upon whether it not only meets the felt needs and interests of adults, but stimulates them to want to explore other fields and develop new interests. It is important that the early attempts provide for classes and other learning activities which appeal to a variety of the people. It is desirable to build the program upon ascertained needs and interests of adults. It will have appeal in proportion to the extent to which it meets such needs and interests.

There should be utilized all available community educational resources. Some organizations may already have programs operating which are not widely known. Others will have leadership or other resources which can contribute to the total program if they are properly tapped. The superintendent and his aides will have ideas on how these resources may be approached and utilized. One can readily think of the following:

(*a*) The public school, its staff and facilities.
(*b*) The public library.
(*c*) Museum and art institute.
(*d*) The extension division of the state university, near-by college, or junior college.
(*e*) State and federal agencies such as agricultural and home extension services.
(*f*) City health, social, and recreational agencies, and similar ones.
(*g*) Churches and church leaders.

It is at this point that the superintendent who has had but little experience with an adult education program usually feels quite definitely at a loss. This is not at all surprising. The steps to be taken will require careful planning and clear thinking. Local conditions and circumstances need to be studiously considered. While the superintendent, or a designated staff aid in adult education, will need to exercise constructive leadership, it should be of a guiding nature rather than a "forcing" process.

It should be stressed that the concepts of service outlined in these selections are not characteristic of practice in most school districts today. Many districts are quite content to leave adult education to other agencies and to limit their activities to vocational classes or to work with parent-teacher associations. Others, as has already been indicated, limit the boundaries of the program to remedial efforts governed by what Thomas Van Sant calls a "second chance philosophy." Still others operate only in the vocational area, for which community support is likely to be readily forthcoming. The merging of all these and other services in one institution into a fully rounded and carefully planned program based on the concept of complete service to the adult and the community is still largely in the discussion stage. But, as the materials in subsequent selections in this chapter will indicate, there is growing support for this broader view.

At a 1948 conference of California Adult School Administrators, a statement was formulated which, as reported by Philip M. Ferguson,[7] represents the ideas and opinions of men and women now administering and teaching in the adult program in the state of California. They are as follows: (1) a public-school adult-education program is essential to the alert, informed, and active citizenry necessary to carry on and improve our way of life; (2) public-school adult education should be publicly financed in such a way that no one will be denied the opportunity of participation; (3) adult education should be geared to the known and understood needs and interests of the community; (4) the organization of adult education at all levels must be maintained in a state of flexibility which will enable rapid changes in the curriculum to be made as new community needs become evident; (5) adult-education personnel in the public schools should encourage and work with other organizations engaged in desirable adult-education activities; (6) adult education is an integral part of the California framework of education; its leaders must work in close cooperation with all other segments of the school system; (7) adult-education programs should provide for the presentation of unbiased information in discussions of controversial issues; (8) funds provided for an adult-education program should be spent specifically for adult education rather than for education in general; (9) adult-education administrators must be free to obtain the best teaching personnel available regardless of extent of the formal educational training of the teacher.

One very potent argument which educational administrators are using in promoting public-school adult education deals with the relationship between adult education and the education of youth. An interesting comment on this problem is contained in the following selection, from Leland Bradford's annual report as Director of the Division of Adult Education Services, of the National Education Association.[8]

Educators are gradually realizing the importance of adult education to the education of youth. This is in sharp contrast to past attitudes which considered

adult education a marginal and not too welcome addition to the educational field. This point of view saw adult education merely as a means of making up educational deficiencies. To a certain extent the early development of adult education contributed to this understanding by patterning itself too closely on the content and methods of youth education.

Curiously, it is not so important to adult education whether or not it is a part of the public-school program, but it is of crucial importance to public education that adult education have a major place in its total program. First, adult education has the potential of making youth education live in the problems of our time by bringing to it adult-discussion methods, group work, and a more dynamic curriculum. Second, as adult education involves adults in the educational life of the community, so the total educational program is brought much more closely into the life of the community. The total community becomes part of the educational program and shares in a combined educational experience for all people. Third, adult education will help in the necessary revitalization of teacher preparation and improvement. Only as training institutions undertake the dynamic training of adult-educators and of community leaders will they realize the inadequacy of their present program of teacher preparation and bring about a successful balance between realistic teacher preparation and continuous in-service improvement.

As a result of the partnership of adult and child education, there will come a drastic change in the public attitude toward education. No longer will teaching be the lowest profession in terms of respect and remuneration. The best possible program of public relations today is that involvement of those who foot the bill for the activity to be supported. Within modern shifting trends the only safeguard for total education is that certainty of complete involvement.

This trend makes it incumbent upon those in adult education to press strongly and fearlessly for real recognition of the importance of adult education to all education by school administrators and boards of education, state departments of public instruction, and teacher-training institutions. In the past, adult education has been sold to school systems as necessary for only one small segment of the population. Now it should be sold as important for all the community.

Adult education needs to be seen by other educators as the way by which adults in the community are trained as leaders and participants in such school oriented groups as the PTA. Only thru the help of adult-educators and adult-education methods will such groups as the PTA reach their effective potential in school improvement.

Finally, educators need to see that adult-educators can materially help in the pre- and in-service training of teachers by aiding them to secure competence in discussion method and group work so needed by all of education today.

What kinds of adult-education programs are most characteristic of those offered under public-school auspices? As might be expected, there is wide variation from community to community and from state to state. The U. S. Office of Education's survey,[9] already referred to, identifies thirty-six categories of activities, ranging all the way from operation of evening school classes to a little-theater program. There is a range from 13 to 1601 districts reporting activities in one or more of these categories. William P. Wilson,[10] in an unpublished 1947 study of adult-education programs in selected cities of the United States, received replies from 52 cities broadly representative of geographical sections of the country and from these data identified 604 different titles of courses offered in these cities. Some duplication existed among the course titles, but by classifying titles he found a percentage distribution in the following areas:

Classification	*Percentage*
Art and art craft	8
Better living	23.5
Academic	27
Music	5
Vocational	30
Miscellaneous	6.5

In his study, Wilson identified the following trends: (1) the programs throughout the country as a whole cover a wide variety of subjects; (2) many cities are giving programs that are very conventional and academic; (3) the majority of programs studied schedule four evenings a week for three hours each evening; (4) although English for the foreignborn and citizenship are still being offered in most schools, they no longer constitute the main part of the program, as they did in the years of high immigration; vocational and academic courses, and courses involving self-expression and development, have been on the increase.

These conclusions should be checked with the results obtained by Kempfer and Wright in their study of 100 evening schools.[11] Chart I (see p. 154) has been adapted from the classification system used by Kempfer and Wright.

These data may become more meaningful if we look at the classification of offerings in specific communities. In his annual report for 1949, Ralph E. Crow, Directing Supervisor of Adult Education in the Cleveland Public Schools, described classes conducted in 76 centers throughout the city. Ninety-five percent of these classes were held in school buildings, and a total class enrollment of 26,355 was reported. The program emphasized elementary and Americanization work, classes at the secondary level, vocational and avocational courses, parent education, and classes in homemaking.

Charts II and III describe two other city school programs in adult education, those in Pasadena and Los Angeles.

The 1952 survey of public-school adult education conducted by the National

Education Association shows a marked increase of offerings in civic and public affairs, world problems, Western economy and society, and the humanities.[12] Although these trends are encouraging, it should be remembered that the data on which these generalizations are based come from urban communities. With

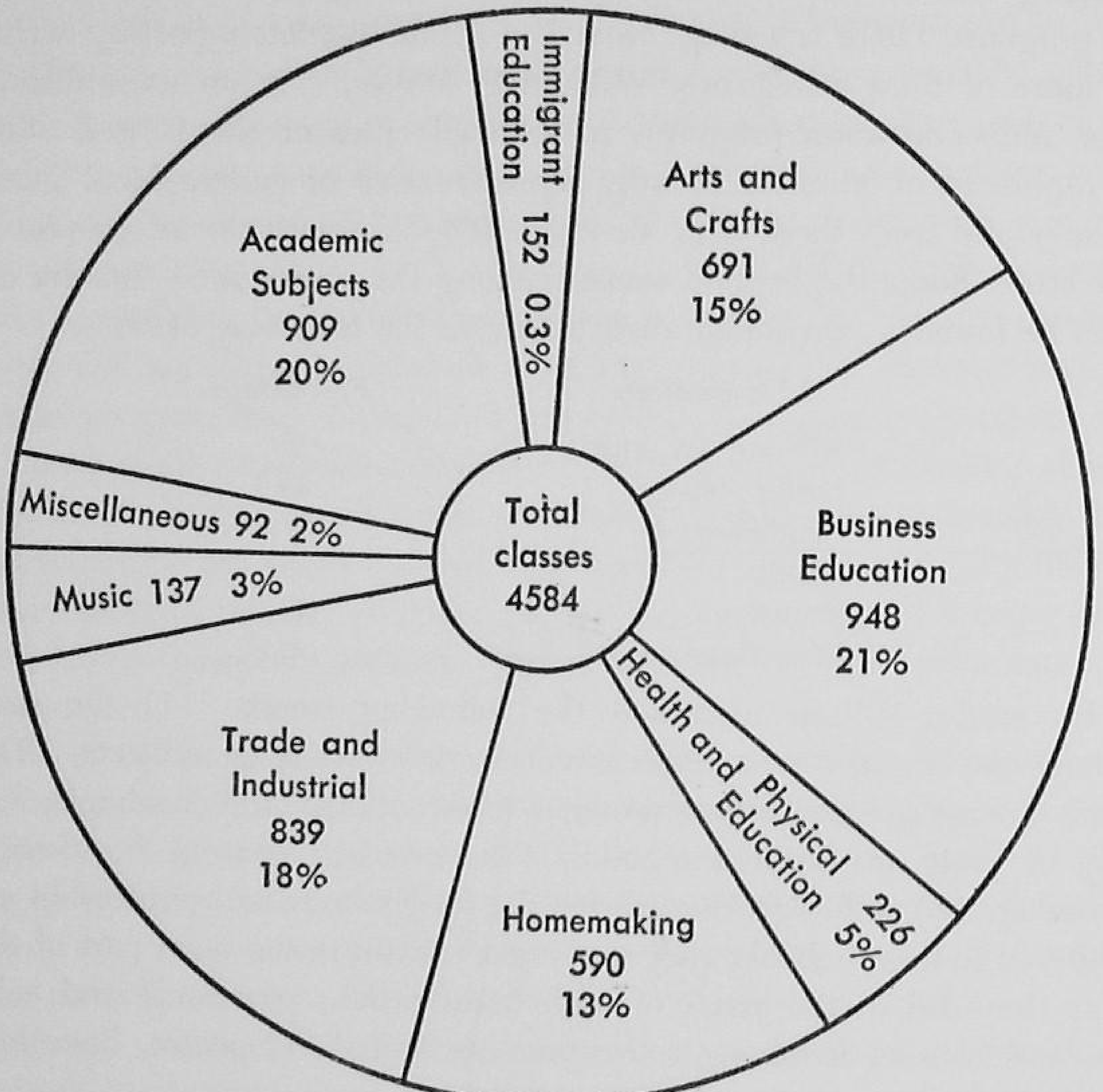

CHART I. Subject distribution in adult education, based on data covering subject offerings of 100 evening schools, 1948-1949, as reported in *100 Evening Schools*, by Homer Kempfer and Grace S. Wright, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 4, 1949.

fewer than one twentieth of the adults in the United States now being served even partially by public-school programs, we can hardly call existing programs adequate to the need.

Administrative Problems Arising from the Operation of Public-school Adult-education Programs

The success of a public-school adult-education program depends quite crucially upon the person chosen to administer the program and upon the way in which it is articulated with the elementary and secondary offerings. Although

the assignment of a good administrator will not necessarily guarantee the success of a school-sponsored adult-education program, instances are rare in which success is achieved without superior leadership. Ralph B. Spence and Benjamin Shangold[13] discovered, for example, that leadership by the school administrator,

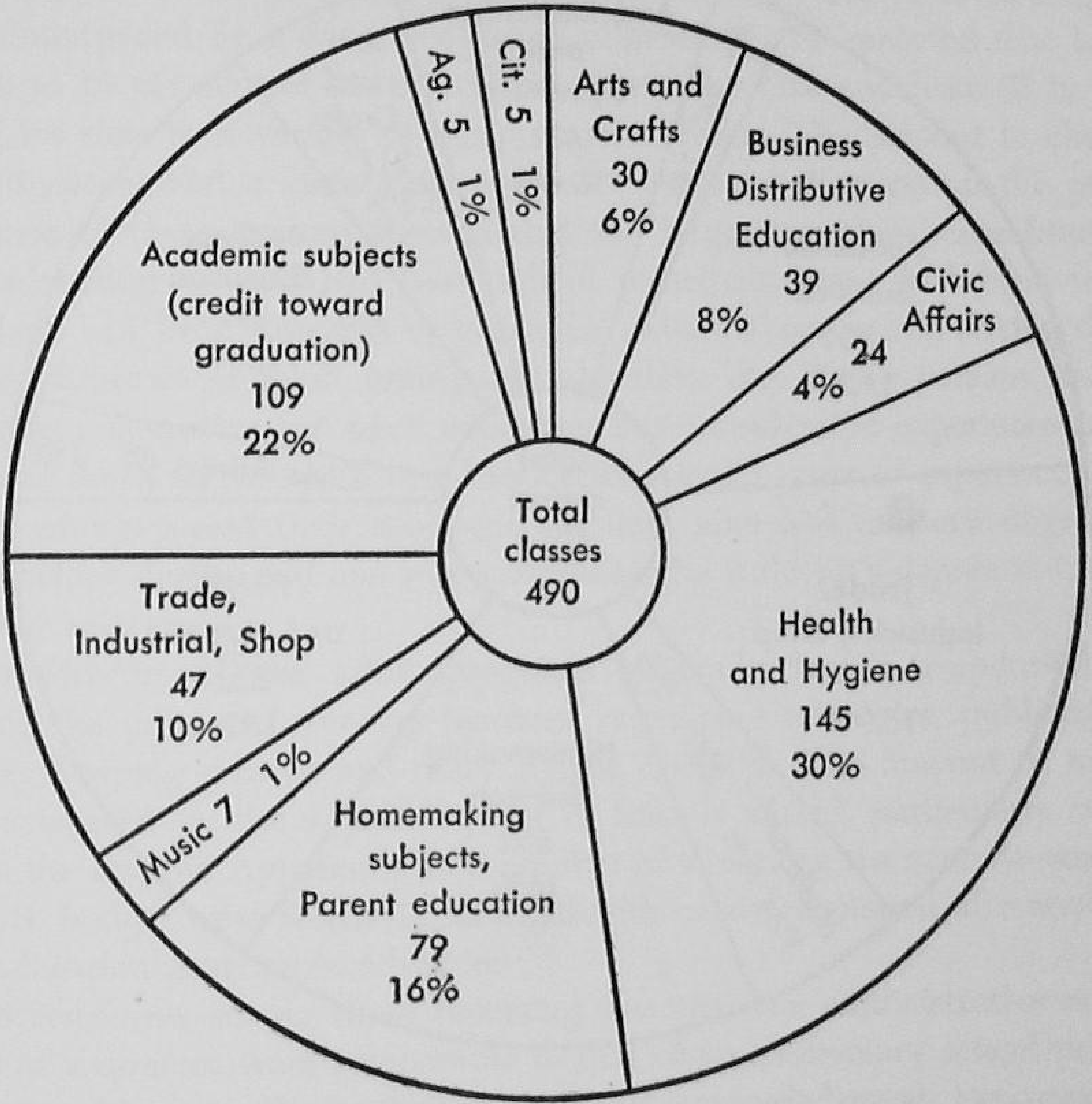

CHART II. Pasadena City College. Percentage of classes for adults assigned by subject fields (day and evening classes combined), Spring semester 1950-1951.

superintendent, or supervising principal was a central factor in determining the quality of program. The communities which had strong public-school adult-education programs had administrators that would be rated as "good" to "outstanding," but not all good administrators had strong adult-education programs.

As long ago as 1943, Andrew Hendrickson,[14] of Ohio State University, noted "a growing tendency to establish under the superintendent of schools a separate administrative head for the adult work called director of adult education or supervisor of adult education." By 1949, when the U. S. Office of Education report on 100 evening schools[15] was published, 74 of the 98 cities represented in the study had directors of adult education or other persons whose responsibility included one or more evening schools plus other adult-education activities. Of

these directors of adult education, 45 devoted full time or more than half time to their work. Relatively few of these administrators had received any kind of formal training in adult education.

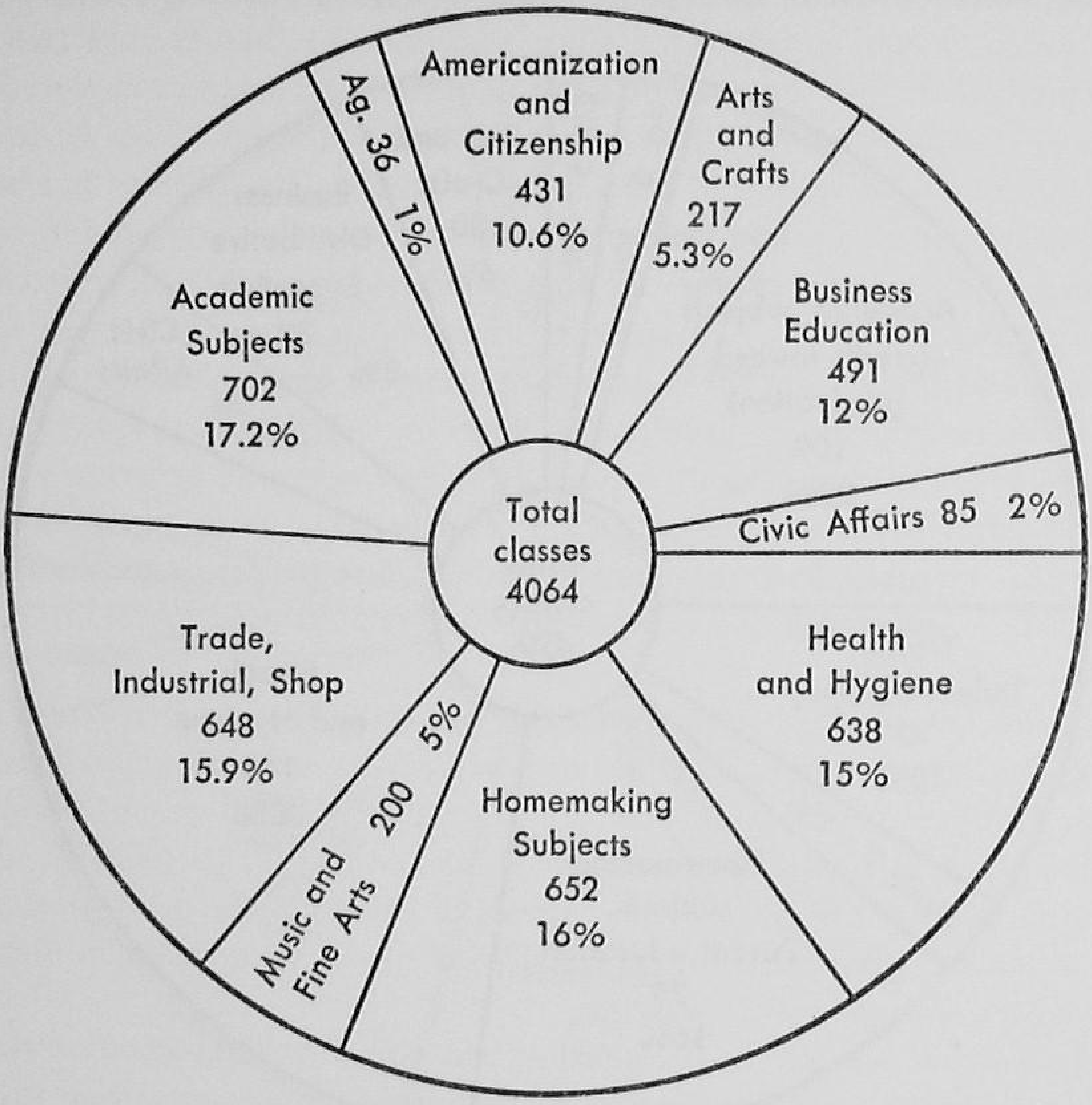

CHART III. Los Angeles City Schools. Percentage of classes for adults assigned by subject fields (including classes for adults in Los Angeles City High School and Junior College districts) day and evening classes (combined), school year 1950-1951, as of March 1, 1951.

David L. Mackaye, Director of Adult Education at San Jose, California, points out:[16]

> . . . As a consequence of this situation a conscious and deliberate struggle has been necessary to maintain the purposes of adult education against a tendency to confine them within the purposes of secondary education in general, thus reducing them to the form of a preparatory form of education. This struggle has been more or less successful and will be increasingly unnecessary.

These general observations are supported by the results of the New York State survey already referred to. A section of that report follows.[17]

The public school programs of adult education in 1946-47 most frequently were administered by a director of adult education, who reported that he gave from 10 to 15 per cent of his time to this particular task and from 85 to 90 per cent of his time to a variety of other responsibilities. The persons in charge of adult education had a variety of previous experience. Reports on the previous experience of these persons showed that the largest number came from vocational education, several had been school principals, some had been teachers and others had been directors of guidance, veterans' counselors during the war training, directors of adult immigrant education etc. These persons had little systematic preparation for adult education but considerable experience in some aspects of adult education. Several reported over 20 years of experience. Of 15 persons who reported their academic training, nine had master's degrees, one had a doctor's degree and one was a candidate for a doctor's degree in industrial and labor relations.

The director of the adult programs generally had a responsibility for planning the program, securing teachers, organizing schedules, publicizing the program, keeping records and other similar activities. The amount of responsibility delegated by the superintendent of schools varied, particularly with regard to the budget. Apparently in a number of situations the arrangements with regard to budget were relatively informal with no exact amount allocated to the adult education program in advance.

The consensus among those reporting was that the administrative responsibilities of a director were comparable to that of an elementary school principal. In practice, however, the position tended to be accorded much less responsibility as measured by the time and salary allocated to it. The attitude seemed to be that the work involved a relatively small number of students and the responsibility was correspondingly small. Relatively little weight was given to the need for intensive promotion of the program in the community.

An analysis of the administrative duties reported indicates the types of activities carried by some of the directors of adult education:

Survey of existing facilities for adult education in the community to determine needs and the part the school should play in total program

Securing of expressions of desires of adults for contents of the educational program

Assistance in securing competent instructors and adequate facilities for the program

Registration of attendance and enrolment records and of necessary reports to local board of education and State Department

Making of accurate payroll reports to board of education

Supervision of building during hours of classes to prevent misuse of facilities by either students or unauthorized persons

Cooperation with instructors in arranging suitable course content for courses to meet expressed needs of students

Guidance and counseling of veterans and other adults who wish to complete formal high school requirements, which would include checking of previous record, testing of present achievement in some cases and coordination with regular day school program to supplement it where necessary

Evaluation of effectiveness of program through observation, student reactions, further requests, holding power of classes etc.

Follow-up of students to determine reason for drop-outs

Promotion of desirable cultural as well as vocational activities in the program

Study of progressive practices in adult education through the reading of professional literature, visitation of effective programs elsewhere and attendance at professional meetings concerned with adult education

Observance of all laws and regulations of the State, the state board of education, the local board of education and the local superintendent of schools and the carrying out of all policies of the local board of education and its executive officer, the superintendent of schools.

As one examines the list of typical activities in which the administrator of public-school programs engages, it is not surprising that the most urgent problems listed by a group of 61 adult-education administrators in California include a large percentage of what might be called technical and operating difficulties. Although 105 problems were identified in the study just referred to, the top ten in point of urgency will serve to indicate the nature of the administrator's concerns.[18]

1. in-service training and institute programs for teachers of adults,
2. adequate counseling staff,
3. adequate conference and interview space,
4. teachers' salaries,
5. training regular teachers of adult classes in counseling techniques,
6. registration, display, and exhibit facilities,
7. student news sheet,
8. clerical and secretarial help,
9. filing and storage space,
10. adequate budget for travel to conferences, professional subscriptions, etc.

Two problems will serve to illustrate the kind of leadership called for from the administrator. Let us take, for example, the problem of obtaining adequate facilities for adult-education activities. Ninety-one percent of the districts re-

porting in the U. S. Office of Education survey[19] indicate activities held in school buildings; thirteen percent reported activities in other public buildings; seven percent used factories and stores; six percent, homes; six percent, church buildings; four percent, clubrooms; two percent, settlement houses; one percent, museums; and four percent, other places, such as camps, libraries, parks, playgrounds, and swimming pools. In the later survey of 100 evening schools[20] only six schools reported housing of adult-education activities in a separate building. It is little wonder that Bradford, in his annual report for the National Education Association Division of Adult Education Services identifies as a basic problem in adult education the lack of adequate physical facilities.[21]

. . . Adult education has too long been forced to make use of classrooms designed for children in old buildings which give the impression that adult education is in "rags and tatters." Wise educators, in this day when new school buildings are being planned, should see that such buildings be designed for both youth and adults, and that such schools be constructed as true community centers. Conference rooms should be a normal part of any modern school building, with full facilities for adults. Then, and only then, will adults feel that these buildings are also for them.

On the other hand, many school systems are making every effort to locate and provide convenient and accessible facilities wherever the demand for services exists. The survey of adult education in Pasadena, California,[22] revealed that in the 1950-1951 school year 64 sites were utilized, including nonschool quarters. Out of 428 student respondents to a questionnaire distributed in connection with this survey, 409 expressed themselves as satisfied with the present location of the class they were attending. Fifty-two per cent of the adult-education teachers expressed the belief that classroom facilities in terms of good teaching were either adequate or exceptionally good.

The articulation of secondary and adult education is another matter of major concern to public-school adult-education administrators. Homer Kempfer, of the U. S. Office of Education, has dealt with this problem in the following selection.[23]

Education should be a continuous, life-long process. Educators have said that for years. Yet the attitude and atmosphere around most high schools is that education ends with graduation except for those who go on to college. The "commencement" concept in thinking and behavior of students, faculty, and

community alike marks high school graduation as the sharp terminal point of systematic education for most youth.

Ideally, if principles of growth were followed, transition from full-time school to full occupational life and homemaking would be gradual. The principle of work experience in the late high school years is becoming increasingly accepted. For all youth not continuing their studies full time, whether because of drop-out or graduation, there is every reason for involving them in some systematic out-of-school youth or young adult program.

Close articulation is the accepted practice between elementary and secondary education. Records move up. High school principals visit elementary schools and visiting days help orient the pupils to the next higher institution. In numerous other ways close liaison is effected. Likewise, college and high school officials spend much time arranging for the transfer of students. Only adult education seems to live apart. There are exceptions, but all too often the director of adult education publicizes and builds his program without the benefit of close cooperation with the high schools. This is nobody's fault in particular; it is just a condition that has grown up. It remains by tradition and inertia—not reason and logic.

In this situation directors of adult education and elementary and high school principals have a joint responsibility. From their first days in school, children should live in an atmosphere which expects that systematic education will be life long—that they as a matter of course will maintain some part-time connection with the public schools and other sources of intellectual stimulation long after education ceases to be a full-time occupation. Principals are the key people to see that such expectancies are built, although adult directors can do much, too. Here are some things that both can do to bring about a closer articulation:

See that all teachers and other staff personnel are fully acquainted with the local adult education opportunities both in the public school and outside of it. Within the school system this is a public relations job. One way is to involve as many teachers as possible in the adult program. Let them experience and enjoy it.

Train teachers to develop in youth the concept of life-long education—through precept, example, and an information program. Develop in every teacher the specific habit of referring youth to adult education activities upon leaving school.

Be especially sure that guidance people know about adult education opportunities and that they habitually guide graduates and drop-outs toward these activities.

Arrange for pertinent data on drop-outs to flow from the guidance department to the director of adult education. Follow up these drop-outs in an effort to draw them into adult programs.

Encourage seniors to get a taste of adult education before graduation by entering into selected adult activities, provided adults in these groups do not resent the presence of younger people.

Encourage secondary teachers to use adaptations of adult methods whenever feasible—especially discussion group and forum procedures. To acquaint secondary teachers with these methods encourage them to accept responsibility for adult leadership activities. Accompany these assignments with in-service training in the methods and philosophy of adult education. Visible improvement may come in day school methods of teachers who adapt successfully to leadership of adult groups.

Help high school people to develop long-term educational plans which include adult education activities especially when all desired courses cannot be crowded into the schedule before graduation.

Explain to seniors the opportunities in the adult education program—the richness—the flexibility—the fun. Do a selling job. In cooperation with the guidance department, take an annual spring survey of seniors to determine their interest as a partial basis for program planning.

Plan the continuation of high school interest groups with a minimum carry-over of traditional secondary school regulations. Develop young adult bands, orchestras, choral groups, science clubs, athletic teams, shop work. Grow these right out of high school with a smooth transition into the young adult groups. Start with activities most liked and with groups giving happiest associations. Isn't it better for young adults to maintain some connection with the school, even though not very academic, than to have them assume a "good-riddance" attitude sometimes encountered?

Design and develop special activities to meet the needs and interests of out-of-school youth—programs for young adults. Maybe it will be advisable to limit the age span of these groups. Fields in which activities can be slanted to serve the peculiar needs of young adults include the vocational, civic, family life and parent education, recreation, and guidance.

Patterns of administration vary widely from state to state. In California, the line of authority in the medium and small cities extends most commonly from the governing board through the superintendent to the adult-school principal or director of adult education. The latter officer is found most frequently in the larger cities of the state. Some districts, such as Pasadena and Long Beach, administer general adult-education activities through the junior college, with assistant principals or deans in charge of the community service offerings. Two sample patterns of administrative organization are suggested in Charts IV and V.

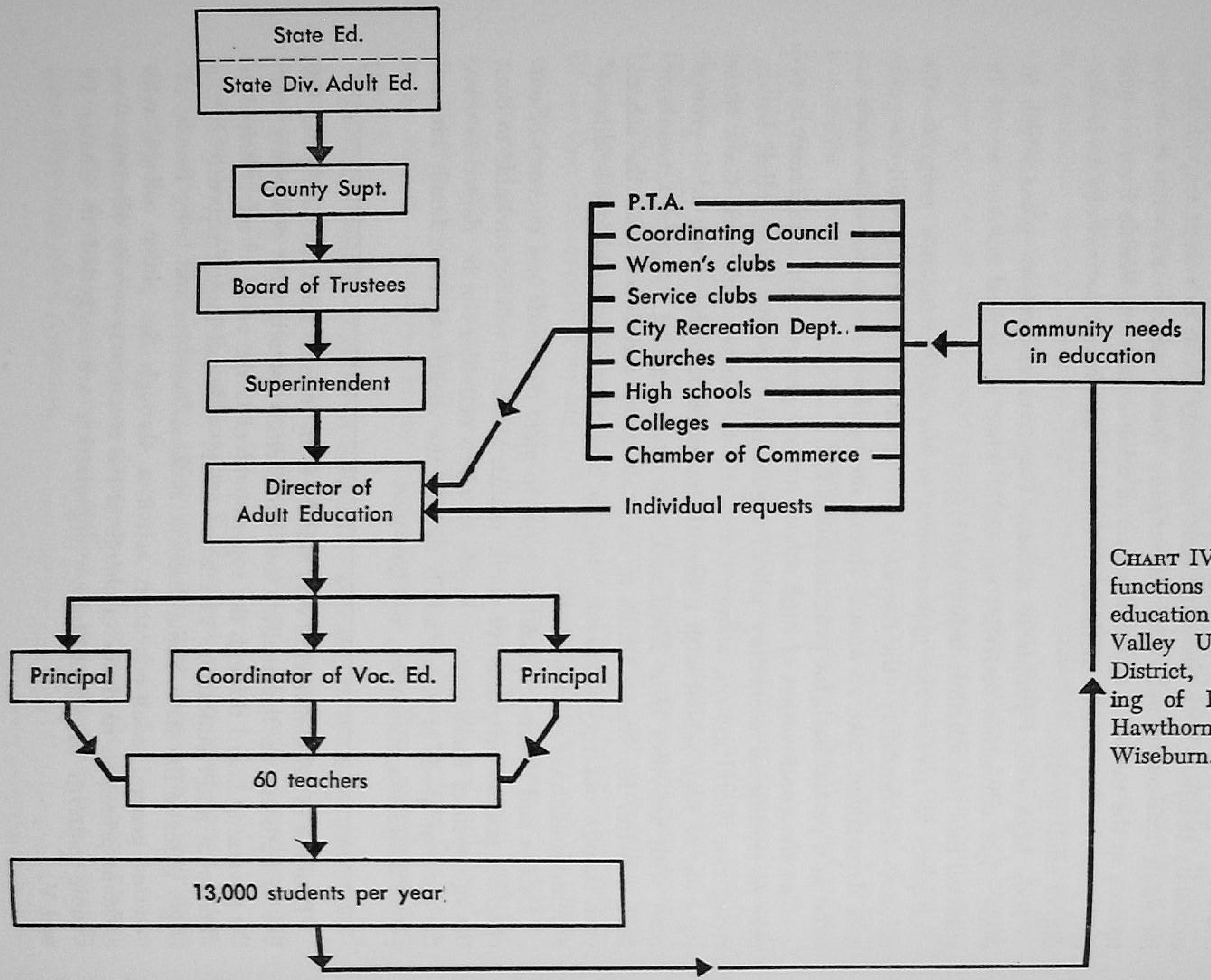

CHART IV. Relationships and functions of director of adult education in the Centinela Valley Union High School District, California, consisting of Inglewood - Lennox-Hawthorne - Lawndale and Wiseburn.

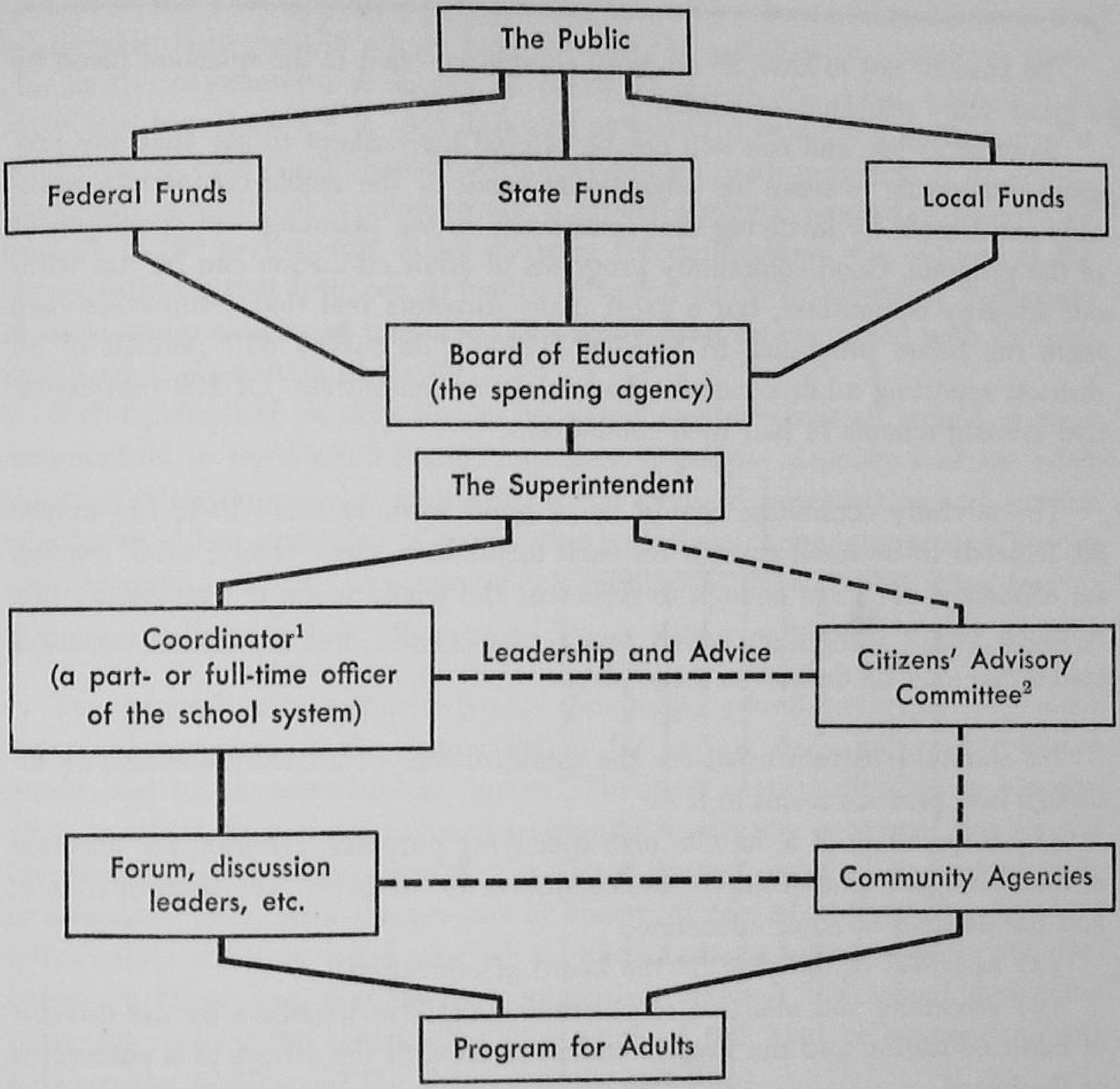

CHART V. One possible organization for adult education.

Note that New York State (Chart V) formalizes the relationship between the coordinator of adult education and a citizens' advisory committee, whereas Centinela Valley, California (Chart IV), maintains community contacts through the director in his relationships with the cooperating agencies of the community.

In the following selection, Homer Kempfer treats the functions of advisory committees in the adult education program.[24]

[1] *Coordinator's Functions:* (1) To assume active leadership, (2) To act as advisor to Advisory Committee, (3) To stimulate and promote program, (4) To conduct research, (5) Others – – .

[2] *The Citizens' Advisory Committee* is made up of representatives from existing local agencies for purposes of helping the Board of Education develop a general policy and implement program plans.

To have or not to have an advisory committee—that is the question faced by a great many educators of adults.

Arguments pro and con will not be briefed here except to say that any program attempting to serve the educational needs of the whole community probably can benefit by involving that community in the planning and development of the program. Good community programs of adult education can be run without advisory committees, but a great many directors feel that committees help them run better programs. In a recent nation-wide survey 45.7 percent of all districts reporting adult education had advisory committees. Of 100 representative evening schools 71 had such committees.

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The advisory committee should be of good working size—10-12-15—maybe 20. It needs to be small enough for each member to speak freely; small enough for efficiency; yet large enough to represent the whole scope of community life. A much larger committee which meets occasionally and a smaller executive committee may be desired in some places.

° ° °

No standard pattern exists for the establishment of advisory committees although best practice seems to favor

(1) formulation of a definite plan specifying purposes, criterion for selection of members, and relationship of the committee to the board, the superintendent, and the director of adult education,

(2) approval of the plan by the board of education,

(3) screening and selection of potential committee members by the director of adult education and the superintendent often with the advice of a committee of the board,

(4) approval of members by the board, and

(5) invitation on behalf of the board by its secretary or the superintendent.

This procedure gives the advisory committee a dignity and standing that it could not have if invited directly by the director or the superintendent. It offers least chance for misunderstandings of relationship; it establishes the channel for the committee to make direct recommendations to the board whenever desirable.

Invitations should clearly

(1) set forth the relationship of the advisory committee to the board of education, to the superintendent, and to the director of adult education,

(2) state the "assignments"—something of the scope and general methods of operation of the committee, and

(3) specify the term of appointment and method of changing membership.

One of the knottiest problems faced by the adult-school administrator is the relationship between the school program and the activities of nonschool agencies in the community. A survey of post-high-school and adult education in Montclair, New Jersey,[25] in 1948 disclosed at least 110 separate groups, exclusive of private colleges and university extension courses, with programs of an educational and recreational or civic nature. Sixty-eight groups reported a cumulative total of 13,769 participants. Even allowing for duplications, the authors of the survey estimate that from ten to twelve thousand adults in Montclair participate in some group activity of this type. This figure must be compared with the estimated adult population of 29,000.

If this pattern of participation in nonschool agencies is at all typical of other communities in the United States, important questions of policy face the adult school administrator as he contemplates the kinds of relationships and services which should be established in cooperation with these community groups. Spence and Shangold spell out the nature of this problem in the following selection:[26]

The general relationship between the public school programs and other organized programs in the community as far as this study gathered evidence would best be characterized as "polite." The most general situation in communities in which there were numerous agencies conducting programs was for the director of the school program to keep some contact, chiefly by personal visits or telephone calls, with the persons in charge of the other programs. In some communities students were referred to other agencies where appropriate. Occasionally there was very active cooperation between the school and some particular agency. An outstanding illustration of this kind of cooperation was between the schools and the libraries or the museums.

In the interviews with community leaders some persons expressed concern over the expansion of the public school adult education program and possible encroachment upon the programs of other agencies in the community. More often there was recognition of the scope of the job to be accomplished and the realization that the existing resources of all agencies would not be sufficient to accomplish it.

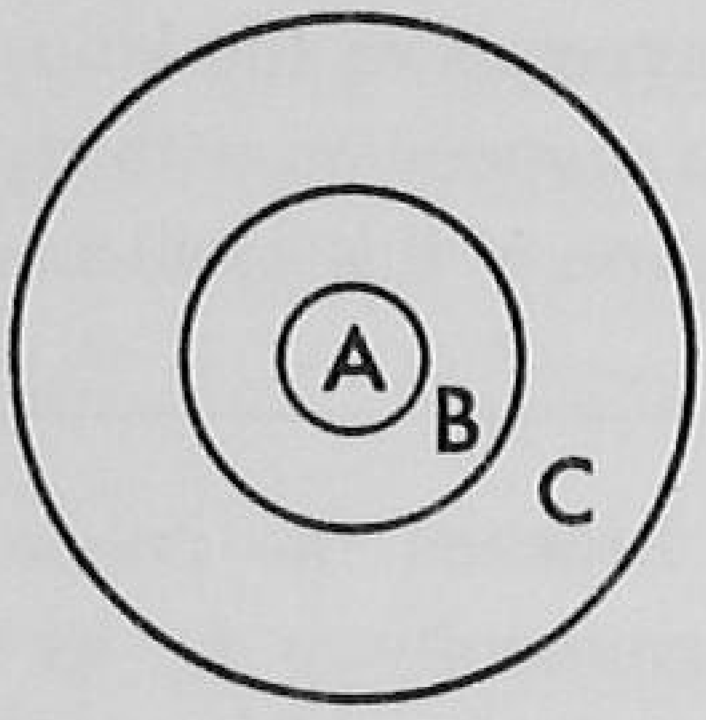
A number of the persons interviewed raised questions which called for broad community consideration of the role of the various agencies in the total program. The fact that the school was in a position to get state aid for adult education activities tended to give it a certain priority in the administration of the program. The questions as to whether agencies which had previously been providing certain offerings should seek to have these activities incorporated into the public school program and what conditions with regard to a broad policy should be met when the school did accept the responsibility for such activities need very care-

ful analysis so as to avoid later disagreements due to a lack of clarity in the preliminary agreements.

The argument for an expansion of services to nonschool groups is well stated by Homer Kempfer in the following selection:[27]

It is as simple as A, B, C!

Let's divide the total adult population into three parts according to desire for further education. Like this:



A is the small fraction who will enroll in an evening school. Their driving ambition will cause them to pull away from all other interesting things they might be doing and join a new group. Their need is so urgent that they will rearrange their schedules and register in your program. A traditional evening school "offering" with ordinary publicity may enroll one-half to one percent of the adult population.

A wider list of classes and better publicity may bring in two, five, or even ten percent of the adult community.

In *B* are those who take some part in the activities of one or more established groups. They may feel a need for continual growth, but they find much of this need can be satisfied by informal interaction groups. Often they feel more comfortable among congenial associates than among strangers in an evening class. While many are interested in further learning, they are not currently in formally organized educational programs.

Part *C* includes all other adults who do not participate in any organized group. *C* includes many young mothers, many under-educated folk, some old people, non-joiners, stay-at-homes, and others who feel little need or have little opportunity to associate systematically with others for stimulating talk or action. Their stimulation toward learning comes largely from the back fence or front porch, from the local bar, from co-workers or family members returning from work and from the radio, press, and movies. Most adult education programs find

ordinary approaches ineffective in reaching people in Part C and consequently involve few of them in any systematic program of growth.

But let us return to Part B.

Surveys show that Part B embraces about half the population—often from 40 to 60 percent. Here are practically all the leaders and many of the followers in any community. Eighty formally organized groups have been identified in one rural village of 1,000. One county of 800,000 has an estimated minimum of 2,500 groups concerned with some phase of public affairs alone. A community of 100,000 identified 1,100 groups—all meeting on some schedule for some purpose involving interaction of personalities—a primary opportunity for bringing about change in people.

The worth of these groups to the members rests heavily upon the quality of programs and the richness of human relationships developed. Most groups are led by annually elected lay men and women inexperienced in group leadership and program building. Many program chairmen welcome help.

Here is an opportunity for a director of adult education with realistic vision and patience to multiply his area of service several fold. If he knows his community well and will work painstakingly with organization leaders, over a period of years he can build up extensive educational services to community groups. Each group served can retain full autonomy, control its own purposes and program, and accept only the professional assistance needed. Usually the group continues to meet in its accustomed place on its regular schedule. The school's services can be spread widely and costs of housing, publicity, and other overhead can be reduced.

Adult education divisions of about 100 schools now provide organizations with some or all of these services:

• • •

Training in Discussion Leadership. Through demonstrations, directed observation, analysis of discussion, and guided field practice amateur leaders can grow materially in this major method of democratic adult education.

Officer Training. Job analysis will indicate content for specific groups: A simple, efficient bookkeeping system for treasurers; model minutes, procedures, and practice in secretaries' duties; parliamentary law and discussion leadership for presidents.

Revelation of Program Resources. After direct mail announcements, program chairmen and others can preview films, can be acquainted with material and personnel resources of libraries, schools, and other community agencies. In one community local authorities on special topics are each introduced for a two minute display of their "wares" while a roomful of club-women evaluate and note any that may interest their groups.

Program Consultation Services. Individual on-call assistance, in office or field, can help tailor-make one or a series of regular programs or develop group-

sponsored special-study groups. With a file of available experts and materials at hand, program consultants often can give valuable help. Schenectady, N. Y., has two or three consultants working with 400 groups a year.

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Records and record players, film-strips, films, projectors and projector operator-discussion leaders, charts, study guides, and the whole range of effective tools for informal learning can be made available to community groups—often free under a liberal schools-for-community-service policy. Better still can be these services when an adult education council arranges for all resources to be tapped through one channel.

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Teachers, discussion leaders, forum moderators, demonstrators, and consultants can be furnished at times and places determined by the groups.

Educational secretaries can be provided to public and quasi-public study commissions. Let the group determine the objectives and outline needs. The secretary can do reference and research work, sift materials, organize, compile, and present basic data for group consideration—activities not entirely unlike work done by good teachers.

How is this built up? By starting slowly; by providing helpful service; by publicizing it through mass media, direct mail, meetings of club officers, and by personal contact; by helping groups enrich the educational content of their programs. As good service is rendered, word gets about; requests for it grow.

Some schools have been providing these services for years. Paid and specialized personnel, by helping leaders inject virile doses of educational vitamins into their programs, can extend educational services to large segments of the public.

One example of how this type of service operates in a specific community is chosen from many reported by Kempfer and Wright. It deals with the type of services provided by the public schools to community organizations in Schenectady, New York.[28]

In addition to the director of adult education and the regular staff of teachers and leaders, the Adult and Extension Division employs a family-life and parent-education specialist, a full-time and a half-time consultant in public-affairs education, 4 part-time specialists assigned by the hour, 2 secretaries, and help as required from the audio-visual office to work with community groups. During 1948-49 services were rendered to approximately 275 different organizations represented by nearly 600 leaders.

Much of this service was advisory and was performed in the field, although after 6 years of operation the office load by telephone and personal call is heavy.

Consultative services are provided on content of programs, educational procedures, educational projects of organizations, resources, and personnel. Groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Bankers' Association, the Home Bureau, church groups, and social agencies seek counsel and assistance in determining how they may best proceed. This is in addition to the personal guidance services for adults and community clearinghouse functions for information on educational opportunities.

The school provides speakers, forum moderators, discussion leaders, panel and symposium members, and projector operator-discussion leaders from the regular staff and from the special part-time employees in the adult program. Content areas in public-affairs education included legislative proposals, national problems, international questions, local affairs, and intercultural understanding. Family-life problems ran the gamut from budgeting to bed-wetting with some emphasis on human relations. Outside leadership is provided by the resource people in the community and larger region. More than 300 different outside specialists were used last year, some of them several times. Subjects treated by such resource people included UNESCO, race relations, rumor clinics, youth conservation, Japan, atomic energy, and numerous others.

Heavy use is made of motion pictures as a foundation for discussion. Movie projectors, a filmstrip projector, filmslide projector, lantern slide projector, portable record player, wire recorder, maps, globes, projection screens, an opaque projector, a portable AM and FM radio, and a set of United Nations Flags are available for use in connection with these programs. Scores of filmstrips, a number of films, and several discussion-recordings were available for use with this equipment. In cooperation with a large electrical manufacturing company, the adult-education program developed an opinion meter, an electrical device for visually registering composite opinions on dichotomous questions.

During the past 2 years 18 "Guides for Leaders" on "How to Plan a Program" have been developed for program chairmen on such subjects as displaced persons, schools and taxes, UNESCO, civil rights, China, minorities—a national asset, world government, Japan, and you and your health. Each guide contains orientation material, program suggestions, notes on procedures, suggested materials, and a list of suggested resource people who have consented to having their names listed.

Club leaders are trained through a number of specialized short courses in discussion techniques, parliamentary procedure, working with committees, and public speaking; through workshops for program planners; and through program aid demonstrations and publications. In addition, a more general leadership-training institute is planned annually. This is usually a 1-day affair beginning about 10 A.M., running through lunch, and ending around mid-afternoon. During this institute round-table discussions are held on conducting business meetings, effectively leading a committee, developing public relations, and conducting

group discussions. To provide further help, an attractive booklet has been prepared with suggestions on "wise ways" of planning a meeting, fixing the meeting date, publicizing the meeting, conducting business sessions, introducing programs, leading discussion, improving human relations, and promoting civic understanding. In each case reference is made to more professional services available from the Adult and Extension Division and other resources in the city.

A monthly bulletin, "Tips and Topics," is mailed free to club leaders. The January 1950 number presented programs dealing with Federal aid to education, social security, world federalism, the Brannan Farm Plan, Taft-Hartley repeal, and Civil Rights legislation; it listed on one page pertinent filmstrips, films, new personnel resources, new discussion guides, and similar information. The March 1950 issue announced a course in discussion methods, new filmstrips, new pamphlets, and other materials available for club use. Accompanying "Tips and Topics" is "Club Time Calendar," which lists the sequence of programs presented on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 11:15 by a clubtime radio newscaster. "Tips for Parents," a weekly radio series, discusses home problems. These programs all tie closely together and help to publicize the activities of clubs and services of the public school.

The above program services, special program services available to PTA groups, the "Dorp Directory" published by school-sponsored young adult groups for newcomers to Schenectady, participation in the community ambassador project for international understanding, and a forum series are all helpful means of building a sense of community.

A publicity leaflet says *Note These Points*:

1. Program service is free.
2. You are the boss. We give you help . . . *You* make decisions.
3. You can have speakers or discussion leaders from outside your group, or you can use our material to improve member-conducted programs.
4. You can request a specific program or general advice from 9 to 1 or 2 to 4 any school day by phoning 6-5248. Our representative will be glad to arrange a conference with you.
5. You can keep informed about new materials and get new ideas by reading "Tips and Topics" (free) each month and by listening to CLUBTIME on WSNY.

The director of the San Francisco adult program stated in his report of June 30, 1949:[29]

Any program of adult education to be worthy of the name must have flexibility. It must be ready to carry on activities of any type which involve a learning

situation for adults whether they be organized in terms of the traditional classroom set-up or otherwise. It must be ready to provide its services anywhere and at any time as needed. It must be geared to begin a new activity at a moment's notice and be ready to close one when the need no longer is present. It must be able to furnish teachers experienced in terms of the activity for which they are needed, and because such teachers may not have had the professional educational training which they need it must be ready to give them the supervision they must have if they are to become good teachers. . . . Ours is truly a community enterprise, not just in terms of the breadth of our service or in terms of our meeting the community's needs, but rather because the community has come to think of us whenever it needs a service of an educational nature performed.

One final problem faced by adult-school administrators, among many which might be discussed, deals with the need for providing adequate guidance and counseling services to adults. Klein and Moffit have pointed out "that every man or woman who in response to some urge for self-improvement, seeks the services that an adult-education program has to offer, is entitled to personal attention sufficient to fit the educational services of that institution to his individual situation."[30]

Results of two surveys are available, one from California and one from New York, the two states that outrank all others in the amount of public money now being spent in support of public-school adult-education programs. Hence, the services now offered in these states should not be considered typical of public-school adult-education elsewhere. Excerpts from the California survey follow:[31]

FINDINGS OF THE CALIFORNIA SURVEY ON ADULT GUIDANCE SERVICES

1. *Adult Counseling Personnel*

In 70 smaller adult schools the principal does adult counseling assisted by clerks and teachers as requested. Most teachers are limited by time and training to do adequate counseling, although there are many individual exceptions. The large city systems have full-time trained counselors in nearly all adult centers with regular hours assigned. Where there were Adult Counseling Programs about 50% of them were coordinated with a total district Guidance Program.

2. *Training and Experience of Adult Counselors*

Most regular counselors have a M.A. Degree with considerable teaching, counseling, and vocational experience. Others indicated a Bachelor's Degree with considerable experience in Adult Education. A small number had a Doctor's Degree . . .

3. *Areas of Adult Counseling*

A. *Vocational Counseling*

The following reasons were given for Vocational Counseling in order of preference: 1) Employment and training opportunities, 2) Job preparation, 3) Upgrading, 4) Desire to change occupations, 5) Testing for aptitudes and abilities, 6) Occupational information, 7) Apprentice training.

B. *Educational Counseling*

Educational counseling on evening high school diploma requirements seems to be the starting point and minimum program for counseling adults in many adult schools. Fifty adult schools indicated that their diploma requirements followed the State Code minimum requirements. Eight had additional requirements, and seven had the same requirements as the day high school. Many small adult schools do not offer credit courses for graduation.

C. *Personal Counseling*

Personal counseling seemed to be limited to the larger systems where psychologists and trained personnel were available, and largely had to do with family problems, self-improvement, personal evaluation, job placement, etc.

4. *Follow-up Plan*

Replies to the questionnaire on this topic indicated that there was considerable interest in this area and a desire to know the best methods for follow-up on day school drop-outs and adult school drop-outs. Very few schools indicated any kind of systematic follow-up on adult school attendance or use of the Day School Drop-out List to inform all students over 18 years old of the Adult Education opportunities in their community.

5. *Strong and Weak Points of the Adult Counseling Program Listed by Administrators*

The best characteristics tabulated in the following order were:

(*a*) Satisfactory personal interviews, (*b*) High school diploma requirements, (*c*) Well-trained counselors, (*d*) Educational aspects, (*e*) Vocational preparations, (*f*) Testing program, (*g*) Occupational information.

The areas which were listed as having the greatest need for improvement were:

(*a*) Follow-up, (*b*) How to contact counselees and publicize the program, (*c*) More time needed for counseling, (*d*) Need for trained counselors, (*e*) Testing program, (*f*) Vocational guidance, (*g*) Placement.

The following selection, from Spence and Shangold,[32] describes the situation in New York State.

In the interviews regarding adult education needs, the importance of making provision for counseling was frequently stressed. It was pointed out that the field of adult education was new and the range of problems presented by adults

was very broad. Many of these were extremely complex and the possible lines of attack were varied. All this stressed the great need for help in providing each adult with the appropriate education.

The counseling task can be thought of as of two types. In the first place there was the problem of finding out through conferences with the persons concerned just what their needs were and devising a program to meet these particular needs. In the second place there was the individual guidance designed to help the person choose among the particular evening school offerings at the time. A person might wish help, for example, in choosing between the course in dressmaking and that in nutrition, or in choosing from a number of different recreational courses available.

Except for some programs available for veterans the schools were doing relatively little in the first category. A majority of the schools were making some provisions in the second category. Seventy-six per cent of the schools reported that regular service was available for helping adults choose among the evening school activities.

In general, this counseling was done by the director of adult education and by the evening school principals. A few schools reported that arrangements had been made to have a member of the school's guidance staff available at least one night a week. In such cases presumably more guidance of the first type might be available.

As mentioned above a number of the schools had extensive guidance services available for veterans. The need for careful examination of an individual's qualifications and for the study of possible programs was recognized. Tests were frequently available and time was provided for extensive personal interviews. Rochester, for example, reported counseling 4515 veterans in 11,096 interviews between 1944 and 1947.

These programs for veterans were given special financial support from the federal government. When the number of veterans declined and the federal aid was no longer available, the schools did not feel that they could carry the program in the face of other demands on their local budgets.

The discussions in this chapter point up the growing importance of school-sponsored programs in the national movement of adult education. Deliberately the emphasis here has been placed upon the issues and policy questions which a growing movement must inevitably face. In spite of its growing pains, however, there are those who predict that the next decade will firmly establish the public school as *the* major agency of adult education in the United States. There is evidence to support this view. No other institution has comparable facilities and resources; no other agency can provide the same potential geographical coverage of the country. Although there are other adult-education agencies supported by

public funds, none of them is as close to the taxpayer and therefore as able to convince him of the wisdom of supporting a lifelong educational enterprise.

It may be pointed out that these unique advantages possessed by the public schools have not thus far been adequately capitalized (see Chap. 20). As is often the case, what the future holds for public-school adult education will depend primarily on the kind of leadership offered by school administrators and boards of education. In turn, the quality of this leadership will depend upon the wider discovery and acceptance of those social realities reviewed in Chapter 2, which make expanded programs of adult education essential whether under public-school auspices or not.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

8

ADULT EDUCATION in universities and colleges is most commonly identified as university extension, and this is the agency that will be the major focus of the materials in this chapter. But many adult-education activities which go on under the auspices of institutions of higher learning are not formally organized as or by university extension. As we shall see in Chapter 10, workers' education programs sometimes function without benefit of extension sponsorship. The Earlham College program, described in Chapter 4, is an example of the kind of important adult education that can and often does go on in the small liberal arts college. The evening college, sometimes operated as a "downtown branch" of an accredited four-year institution, may or may not be a full-fledged extension division with field services reaching out to communities in the surrounding area.

A 1948-1949 survey of non-degree programs in Ohio colleges, for example, disclosed that 25 of 47 colleges and universities in the Ohio College Association reported enrollments totaling 37,707 in non-degree programs. Eleven of the member colleges provided non-credit courses, most of them apparently geared to the needs of the adults participating.[1]

Another study which reveals possibilities and problems confronting universities and colleges which seek to provide services to community adult-education programs was made in New York State. About thirty of the institutions of higher

learning were involved in the study, and a wide range of existing services was discovered, with opportunities for much-needed expansion and development.[2]

In dealing with college and universities, a distinction should be made between their roles as operating agencies of adult education and their roles as training and research centers. The latter function will be dealt with in Chapter 17. Here we are concerned primarily with problems of organization and administration and with program trends as these are revealed by materials relating to university extension activities.

University extension, as we know it today in the United States dates back to 1906, when President Charles Van Hise and Extension Director Louis Reber, of the University of Wisconsin, began their now classic effort to make the boundaries of the University campus coterminous with the boundaries of the state of Wisconsin. Prior to that date a number of American universities carried on what we would now call adult-education activities off campus. These activities consisted principally of public lectures, patterned quite literally on the precedents which had been established by English universities. In the earlier period at Yale, at Harvard, and later under President William Rainey Harper at Chicago, these efforts to bring outstanding personalities on the campus to audiences of lay citizens met with wide popular response. The heavily academic content of these lectures and early courses, however, and the failure to adapt offerings and materials to the needs and interests of the lay public led to a gradual decline in popular support and for a time it seemed as though university extension in the United States would lose its force and significance.

The University of Wisconsin idea of extending the resources of the University to meet the needs of citizen groups, whoever they might be and whatever they cared to study, took hold, prospered, and spread. "Between 1906 and 1913, twenty-eight universities organized extension divisions and twenty-one reorganized departments which during the fifteen lean years had been abandoned or neglected."[3] In 1915, the National University Extension Association was organized and held its first meeting with twenty-two member institutions. By 1950, the membership had expanded to approximately seventy universities and colleges carrying on extension work.

Today, university extension is one of the important adult-education agencies in the United States, encompassing not only classes and lectures but a wide variety of additional services and offerings, including correspondence courses, audio-visual libraries, package libraries, short-term institutes and conferences, residential centers, and community-service activities.

In this chapter we shall attempt to learn something about (1) the unique responsibilities of university extension, the nature of the present program, and the people who avail themselves of its offerings, (2) the organization and administration of university extension, and (3) program trends.

The Background

The rationale behind university participation in adult education is well stated in the following excerpts from the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education.[4]

An expanded program of adult education must be added to the task of the colleges. This is a vital and immediate need, because the crucial decisions of our time may have to be made in the near future. Education for action that is to be taken, for attitudes that are to be effective, in the next few years must be mainly adult education.

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The continuing education of the adult population is carried on by many agencies, by some as a deliberate aim, by others as a byproduct not always recognized as education. But the colleges and universities are the best equipped of all the agencies, from the standpoint of resources, to undertake the major part of the job. Education on a near adult level is their business, and they have, in some measure at least, the necessary teachers and facilities.

The present status of university extension services makes it painfully clear that the colleges and universities do not recognize adult education as their potentially greatest service to democratic society. It is pushed aside as something quite extraneous to the real business of the university.

This attitude is fostered by the necessities of adult education. It takes place outside regular college hours and usually off campus. It makes use of faculty members in other units of the university, and for these men extension or correspondence courses are usually extra chores they agree to add to their regular teaching load in order to supplement their inadequate incomes. In this frame of mind, many of them candidly get by with as little expenditure of energy as possible.

This state of affairs cannot be permitted to continue. The colleges and universities should elevate adult education to a position of equal importance with any other of their functions. The extension department should be charged with the task of channeling the resources of every teaching unit of the institution into the adult program.

Adult education, along with undergraduate and graduate education, should become the responsibility of every department or college of the university. It should be the duty of the English faculty or the physics faculty, for instance, to teach English or physics not just to those who come to the campus, but to everyone in the community or the State who wants to learn, or can be persuaded to want to learn, English or physics.

To this degree every college and university should become a "community col-

lege." Then extension teaching would be accounted a part of the regular teaching load and would receive its due share of faculty energy and interest.

Granted that this would increase the job of the institution many times over, that it would require more teachers, more manpower in administration, and a very considerable increase in the budget. The principal obstacle to acceptance of the program, nonetheless, is the limited concept that higher education still holds of its role in a free and democratic society.

It must broaden that concept. It must cease to be campus-bound. It must take the university to the people wherever they are to be found and by every available and effective means for the communication of ideas and the stimulation of intellectual curiosity. It must not hold itself above using all the arts of persuasion to attract consumers for the service it offers.

Adult education in the past has been much too inflexible, much too bound by traditional notions of proper educational procedures. Extension activities for years have been stultified by the idea that adult education consists merely of the transmission to mature people of campus courses developed to meet the needs of adolescents.

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A college or university has a triple role to play. (1) It should wherever possible provide a center for evening classes or for any other education activity in its local community. This needs no elaboration. (2) It may prepare teachers and other leaders for effective participation in the community program. They will be drawn from school and college teachers, professional personnel, housewives, skilled tradesmen, etc. The customary college entrance requirements, and degree requirements, should be forgotten in the case of most of them. (3) It may develop background material to aid all the community programs in which it cooperates. These might include library collections, educational films, language and other phonograph records, graphic materials and art collections.

As a part of the State-wide plan to be discussed below certain colleges may participate in the actual administration of the programs in local communities. They may supply part or all of the teaching personnel, stimulate the introduction of new activities, and serve in a consultant capacity to the local teachers and other leaders.

Against this background of general recommendations from the President's Commission, let us now look at the specific objectives of two major institutions, one a state university, the University of California, the other a private institution, the University of Chicago.

The University of California. The educational services of University Extension at the University of California are organized around three primary aims: to help men and women advance professionally; to aid them in meeting their

responsibilities as citizens of a democracy; to assist them in their pursuit of intellectual interests.

Although the University of California Extension is increasingly designing its services for the adult who has been to college, most of its classes, correspondence courses, short-term institutes, and lectures are open to any man or woman who seeks some form of higher education but has found it impossible to take up residence at the University.

These aims are amplified by Baldwin M. Woods, Vice-President of the University of California in charge of University Extension, as follows:[5]

Four of today's realities have effects on the continuing education of adults. All of them affect adults as a group, but it seems evident that they are of greatest concern to the best educated men, to those who assume major responsibilities in our national life.

First, the child starts, not where his father and mother left off, but completely ignorant. Once I remarked to a philosopher friend of mine concerning my then seven-year-old son, "It's amazing how much a boy has to learn." He replied, "How much he has to learn? He has everything to learn."

Second, the average man has an expectancy of twenty or twenty-five years more than the man of a century ago. The life span in America in 1840 is reported as thirty-nine years. The corresponding figure for the present time is substantially above sixty years. It has been assumed by educators that the increased length of life will permit earlier retirement from active employment and lighter duties for people through wider division of tasks. I doubt whether this will occur. It is possible that the burdens of those having responsibility in the professions will increase and that the period of their service will lengthen. The increasing desire to keep older statesmen in service is evidence of this possibility.

The third reality is the higher speed of technological advance. We recognize how slowly our thinking adapts itself to change and how slowly we adjust. For example, the American city is still fifteen to twenty-five years behind adjustment to the automobile.

Every student leaves college or professional school before even the formal part of his education can be finished. This is the fourth fact of today. What is the best time for a student to leave full-time supervised education? Only recently have we become aware of the impossibility of providing all of the training that a man needs while he is in college, not merely because of the volume of material which would need to be covered, but also, because, no matter how much is done, changes in the profession come so rapidly that any course will prove only a partial foundation. The need for a broad and sound basis in college is thus greater than ever.

Can there be a question in anyone's mind today that the problem of learning is lifelong? What can university extension do about it?

First, in the universities it is becoming clear that the short cuts to understanding and knowledge which civilization has developed must be utilized to the full—those elements of education which are recognizable as basic and which have wide application in life. In the college of liberal arts, for example, emphasis is being placed upon education rather than training, giving the youth a sense of values, an internal compass as it were, by which to steer his course, rather than a detailed map.

Recently, the educational secretary of the American Medical Association noted that about one third of the practicing physicians of the nation are now attending annually short courses, clinics, and similar educational activities—a partial answer to a statement made several years ago by a professor of the Harvard Medical School that, "if the doctors now practicing knew one half of the advances in medicine which the recent graduates know, medical practice would advance overnight by about twenty years."

Business-administration education lists three current problems: how to reduce the severity of the business cycle; how to administer the business enterprises of America so that they occupy an unchallenged position in the world as the best plan civilization has to offer; how to develop and administer international economic policy so that American economic power may be used to the advantage of the entire world while adequately meeting its home needs.

Advanced schools of administration, to which students of exceptional ability and high promise of initiative might be admitted, have been proposed. Results, of course, would not be felt for perhaps twenty years. Hence, "What shall we do for those who carry the problems of today and will carry them during the next twenty years?" We can't wait.

In the field of law, the American Bar Association has recently encouraged leaders in the Bar to undertake through the American Law Institute an educational program of continuing education of the Bar. Public education has recognized the necessity for continued training of teachers and educational administrators in service and has developed promotion plans and programs coordinated with educational requirements designed to show professional advancement.

If education is considered as a continuous lifetime process, the student on graduation assumes the direction of his own curriculum. He finds it important to include among his teachers the employer, the professional society, the scientific and professional publication, the public library, and the job itself. It is to be expected that it will require several years for the graduate to recognize the nature of the new approach and to plan adequately his continued development. Some of the elements, and perhaps some of the most important, are those which his university is best able to provide for him. Generally speaking, only an educational institution with multiple facilities can provide services over a broad front.

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University extension has an obligation, it would appear, to bring the best of university thinking and knowledge to provide solutions for these problems. University extension in this field, as in others, will depend upon the sources of knowledge and experience which the university provides and not on an ideology which it develops independently.

With the help of the university the professional man may reasonably face the educational realities of today after graduation from college and professional school. Familiar with a body of knowledge which is sound, he may gain sufficient understanding of civic and personal problems to be "on top of" his job and to retain peace of mind in the midst of change. The additional twenty or twenty-five years he is to live will prove a period of continued development and not one of stalled progress or retrogression. If he is successful in making these adjustments, and if we provide him with usable services to aid in meeting his own curriculum, he may still find time for high achievement, although he starts with everything to learn.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. University College in its effort to define its goals has stated four broad purposes which it proposes primarily to serve:[6]

1. *To provide the liberal arts of reading, writing, speaking, and listening to the end of a more rational solution of men's problems.* These are complex arts of a fairly high order and determine the extent to which men's individual potentialities grow. It is also true that the extent to which man can develop his society through the communication of ideas is contingent upon his mastery of these basic arts.

2. *To provide adults with an opportunity to increase their understanding of the world through the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences.* The welfare of a democratic community depends in no small measure upon the general possession of a common body of knowledge. Man today is the inheritor of the achievements in art, music, literature, and philosophy. He has his place in a complex political, economic, and social order. He lives in a world largely built by science. The history of civilization, as portrayed in the humanities; the growth of our greater social order, as viewed through the social sciences; the modern techniques and methods of scientific development, as indicated in the natural sciences, are therefore essential to an understanding of the world in which the adult lives.

3. *To offer adults an opportunity for improvement of professional competence through advanced training.* The Downtown Center recognizes that the greater breadth of experience of mature persons opens new areas of knowledge and brings into sharper focus deficiencies in earlier educational experiences. The

offerings at the Downtown Center are therefore geared to provide advance training to the adults who already hold an established place in the political, economic, and social life of the community.

4. *To enable adults to discharge those responsibilities which the circumstances of mature life have brought them.* The political and social responsibilities of parenthood, election to public office, voluntary public service, and other activities which affect the life of the community create needs among adults for information and assistance which the Downtown Center should provide.

Not much evidence is available as to the characteristics of the public which university extension divisions serve. In 1951, however, a detailed study, by Lawrence K. McLaughlin, of the student population in University of California Extension at Los Angeles produced the following results.[7]

The purposes of this study were: (1) to determine certain basic characteristics of students to whom the existing class program of University of California Extension appeals; and (2) to obtain certain reactions from the students enrolled in University Extension classes which relate to the educational service rendered through the class program.

The questionnaire survey which was conducted in order to achieve the purposes of the study took place in the Southern Area of University Extension's statewide operation during a three-week period in the spring semester, 1951. The questionnaire was anonymous and was designed for easy administration during class time. For tabulation purposes, the answers to the questionnaire were recorded by the students on Mark-Sense, I.B.M. cards. The questionnaire was administered *once* to all classes in process during the three-week period. Only those students in attendance at the time of the single administration in each class were included in the studied population. The total number of students reached was 6,560 out of approximately 8,500 to 8,900 students enrolled. The data for the obtained population were categorized and tabulated according to twenty-seven fields of interest and fifteen geographical locations of classes. Forty-four per cent of the students in the obtained population were new to the class program during the spring semester. About 77 per cent of the students in the obtained population were taking but one class.

The obtained data were of two types, i.e., "census" and "student-reaction." The census data were: age, sex, marital status, formal schooling, income, work status, work hours per week, and occupational status. The student-reaction data related to service factors in the class program, such as: publicity, guidance, new courses needed, plans to take additional courses, location of classes, and scheduling.

The summarized data for the total population revealed the following facts:

1. There were almost twice as many males as females enrolled in the class program.
2. Over 60 per cent of the reporting students were 35 years of age or under.
3. The ratio of married to single students was about two to one.
4. About 45 per cent of the students held bachelor's degrees or higher degrees.
5. The income bracket, $3,001-5,000, included a larger percentage (44%) of the reporting students than any other two-thousand-dollar bracket.
6. Over 85 per cent of the reporting students were either employed or self-employed.
7. Seventy-eight per cent of the students reported that they worked a 36-40 hour week or more.
8. The program of classes in operation during the survey period appealed primarily to the professional or semiprofessional person.
9. Sixty-six per cent of the reporting students enrolled in Extension classes because of the perceived benefit the instruction would give them in either their present or future main line of work.
10. The largest number of students reported University Extension class schedules, pamphlets, and leaflets as their first source of information about the classes they were taking.
11. Seventy-two per cent of the reporting students indicated their intention to take additional courses through Extension in the near future.
12. About 40 per cent of the students indicated that there were courses which they would like to take which are not now offered through University Extension.
13. Eighty-two per cent of the reporting students indicated that they would work toward a degree within Extension if it were possible to meet all the requirements in Extension.
14. About three-fourths of the students preferred week-day evenings as the one best time for taking classes in Extension.
15. About one-third of the reporting students felt the need for guidance in planning their educational programs in University Extension.
16. More reporting students came to the classes they were taking from home rather than from work.
17. Eighteen per cent of the reporting students rated the location of the classes they were taking as inconvenient.

From these data, the administrative staff in University Extension at UCLA has been able to modify offerings and administrative practices so as to serve more effectively the needs of the population that attends University Extension classes. Similar studies in other extension divisions and more inclusive investigations of

other branches of extension divisions would enable us to generalize more accurately than is now possible about the characteristics of the additional thousands throughout the country who participate in extension activities.

The Organization and Administration of University Extension

A special committee of the National University Extension Association published a preliminary report on adult education in the modern university in which an answer was attempted to the question: "How is adult education administered within the university?" The difficulties facing one who attempts generalization about this question are underscored by the following excerpt from that report.[8]

In the original questionnaire sent out by the committee, the seventh question dealt with the manner in which adult education is administered by the colleges and universities belonging to the National University Extension Association. An examination of the replies indicates a wide variation in the manner in which extension work is conducted among the constituent members of the association.

One should mention first those extension divisions which as yet are not well organized and where the extension work is carried on by many different agencies and schools. Often this situation exists in the universities and colleges in which an extension program has been in operation only a short time. Most of the directors responsible for extension in these institutions are of the opinion that action should be taken to place all extension and adult education under the direction of the extension office.

Some older universities, such as Iowa, report that the responsibility for a given extension project is assigned to the unit best qualified to carry it on. Much of this work is done by the extension unit; some of it is not. According to the report of the director at Iowa, the system works well and should not be changed. At Washington State, the library, the registrar's office, the publications office, and many of the academic departments have interests and outlets in the community which they serve with the help of the extension division, which acts as a clearing house.

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In the National University Extension Association there are a considerable number of privately endowed institutions, such as Chicago, Harvard, Columbia, and to some extent, the University of Pennsylvania. These institutions vary in their conception of what should be done in the field of adult education, and their extension departments—if such they can be called—exist for the purpose of serving a quite specialized need.

At Harvard, a Commission on Extension Courses offers twenty-nine late afternoon and evening classes. In addition, it assists the Massachusetts Department of Education in its adult education program by permitting professors to teach classes and by making rooms available on the Harvard campus. Pennsylvania's extension

program is limited in scope and practically all of it consists of credit courses. Chicago has a varied program of extension activities. Most are channeled through University College which conducts classes in a downtown center and administers the Great Books Program and the Correspondence Study Department.

At Columbia, the School of General Studies has taken the place of the Extension Division and offers a credit program leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree. It seems that the term "extension" ceased to be descriptive since Columbia gave up its extramural centers and its correspondence courses. Columbia offers comparatively little adult education as the term is used in the questionnaire. It offers noncredit service courses to students seeking some special skill or trying to advance in their own fields.

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In state universities and land-grant colleges such as Pennsylvania State, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Nebraska, California, Virginia, Rutgers, and several others in which the extension division is well established and its functions are well defined and understood by the administration and faculty, most off-campus work is carried on through the extension division. In every case, however, there are a few adult education activities outside of extension.

By far the majority of directors expressed themselves as not at all alarmed about this situation. In fact, one director says that though certain activities in his institution should really be placed under his direction, he "hopes to heaven" they will not be as he and his staff are now too busy to take on additional duties. It is pointed out by several directors that all activities of an adult education nature will eventually be placed in extension. They expressed themselves as completely unworried about the situation and are lending their facilities to other organizations carrying on adult education programs within their universities.

There are some institutions, such as Indiana University, in which a reorganization has recently been made. Indiana was not placed in the category described in the foregoing paragraph because of its recent reorganization. The Division of Education and Public Services of Indiana, which came into existence a few years ago, has by order of the administration taken over practically all the adult education activities of that institution. There are some other newer and smaller universities such as Wyoming in which the extension division was made an administrative agency through which all departments and colleges are authorized to carry on the program to serve the people of the state. This is an instance in which a young university has endeavored to start its extension division properly.

One of the authors has had the opportunity of making a special study of organizational and administrative problems in three university extension services: the Pennsylvania State College, the University of Chicago, and the University of California. All three of these institutions favor and reflect a vertical form of extension organization—that is, unification of the administration of most of the

adult-education functions of the institution (except agricultural extension) under the extension division. A few descriptive paragraphs about each of these institutions may be useful.

The Pennsylvania State College. The administrative officer responsible for the university extension of the Pennsylvania State College is designated as Assistant to the President in Charge of Extension. Counseling the President is an Advisory Committee on Extension Services, composed of the Assistant to the President in Charge of Extension and the deans of the undergraduate schools. Counseling the Assistant to the President in Charge of Extension is an Administrative Committee on Extension Services, made up of the undergraduate-school extension directors. Virtually every undergraduate-school dean has an assistant in charge of extension for his school. This assistant is generally called a director of extension and has a staff of full-time and part-time supervisors. These school extension divisions are responsible in consultation with the various resident department heads of the school for the programs offered through extension. They help to maintain high standards of instruction, being responsible for the approval, academic rank, teaching load, and supervision of the teachers; the subject matter taught; the textbooks, course outlines, syllabi, and necessary instructional equipment; and in some instances the preparation of examinations.

To aid the Assistant to the President in Charge of Extension to coordinate the work of these school extension divisions, the Central Extension Organization has been set up under an Executive Director responsible to him. There are three main divisions to this central staff organization: the Division of Instruction, the Division of Community Colleges, and the Division of Business and Records. The Division of Instruction includes formal class work as well as informal study, correspondence study, instructional aids, and management training. The Division of Community Colleges has responsibility for the administration of twelve extension centers, four of which offer full freshman and sophomore programs carrying college credit, and six of which offer full-time technical curriculums. Evening technical work is offered in fifteen centers.

For administrative purposes the state is divided into eleven geographic areas. Each has an administrative head who is responsible for the development, organization, and operation of all general extension activities in its area. The program offered in each area depends upon the need and upon the nature of the requests which have been made by communities in that area. This area organization insures complete coverage of the state and an administrative field staff which can both report needs from the field and promote wider use of campus resources throughout the state.

Staff communication is aided by a statewide *Extension News* and by periodic staff meetings attended by area officers. Divisional staff members in the Central Extension Organization also keep in touch with area officers by frequent field trips. The area administrative officers have considerable autonomy and freedom

to develop programs which will meet the needs of their areas most effectively. Annual reports from each of the areas keep the Central Extension Organization and the school extension divisions acquainted with problems and trends within the areas. Staff communication is further aided by a staff bulletin, issued twice a month to some six hundred members of the extension and College staff.

Policy decisions are explored in periodic meetings of divisional heads, the Executive Director, and the Assistant to the President. Questions involving relationships with the undergraduate schools are normally explored by the Administrative Committee on Extension Services. Policies requiring action by the Board of Trustees are normally explored first by the President's Advisory Committee on Extension Services. In addition, practically all the departments and sections in the Division of Instruction utilize the services of advisory committees. Moreover, every area officer has an advisory committee composed of outstanding citizens in the communities concerned.

University of Chicago. The administrative unit through which the University of Chicago operates its extension services is known as University College, and the Dean of the College reports directly to the President of the University. Administratively, the College functions through a Downtown Center, a Home Study Department, and the Radio Office. The heads of the Home Study Department and the Radio Office report to the Dean of University College, but that officer himself administers the program in the Downtown Center with a staff to which he delegates certain specialized responsibilities.

The activities at the Downtown Center include regular courses, special programs, lectures, seminars, and general educational services. Offices of the Dean of University College and the members of his administrative staff for the Downtown Center are located in the heart of the Loop district. Unlike the administrative pattern in operation at both Pennsylvania State College and California, that of University College permits a comparatively small and compact staff with fewer communication problems and with coordination made possible through the Dean of the College himself. A staff officer in charge of student services, known as the Dean of Students for University College, is administratively responsible both to the Dean of the College and the Dean of Students on campus. This ensures that personnel policies, although adjusted to the needs of adult students, are nevertheless developed within the framework of campus policy.

University of California. The extension division at the University of California is called University Extension. Its head is Vice-President—University Extension. He reports directly to the President of the University and has statewide responsibility for the administration of all extension programs of the University other than that of the College of Agriculture. Both the President of the University and the Vice-President—University Extension call upon the Extension Advisory Board which represents the faculties at Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara, to review policies and give advice on the development of extension services.

The central staff organization within University Extension is designed (1) to assist the Vice-President in the administration of statewide programs and advise him on statewide policies, and (2) to facilitate administration of extension activities within the three areas into which the state is divided. Collectively this group becomes a Program Committee, meeting two days each month for the consideration of statewide and area problems. Statewide policy is formulated by the Vice-President on the basis of these discussions.

The members of this Program Committee are, in addition to the Vice-President, an Associate Director with primary responsibility for the northern-area activities, with headquarters at Berkeley, an Associate Director with primary responsibility for southern-area activities, with headquarters at Los Angeles, Assistant Directors at Berkeley and Los Angeles, and an Assistant Director with primary responsibility for area activities centering on the Santa Barbara campus of the University. The Business Managers for the Northern and Southern Areas are also members of this committee. Staff functions of other administrative officers in University Extension are specialized according to the nature of the activity for which they are responsible.

In all departments except correspondence study, duplicate departments are in operation at Berkeley and Los Angeles. Similar functions are handled by a smaller staff at Santa Barbara. The Correspondence Study Department operates through a single office and staff in Berkeley. Film libraries are in operation at both Berkeley and Los Angeles. Major departments deal with class organization and conferences and special activities.

As at Pennsylvania State College, staff communication problems arise not only among the three areas into which the state is divided but also among departments within each area. The California pattern differs from the one at State College in that it is more decentralized and consequently more varied structurally within the areas. Intra-area communication among department heads is accomplished primarily through periodic staff meetings. Communication among areas depends primarily upon intercampus visits, the meetings of the Program Committee, and the *Director's Letter*, issued periodically to all instructors and staff members of University Extension.

Significance of These Three Patterns. Here are a few generalizations about the organization of university extension in these three institutions:

1. The importance of extramural services within the modern university, whether private or state-supported, is indicated by the fact that in all three institutions the administrative officer in charge of extension does have direct access to the president's office and is involved in the policy-making group which advises the president on university-wide policies and decisions.

2. Statewide programs, as represented at Pennsylvania State and California, and as compared with the more concentrated services provided by the University of Chicago, require a rather elaborate administrative framework, the complexity

of which seems to increase in direct proportion to the quantity, variety, and geographic area over which the services are rendered.

3. Although the extension directors in the three institutions have high status within the university administration, the magnitude and complexity of the operations in which each is engaged require more than physical access not only to the president's office but to administrative faculty committees, which are often concerned only peripherally with operational problems and policy questions affecting administration of university extension. Although theoretically the advisory-committee pattern at State College and California is intended to improve the administration's understanding of extension problems, the infrequency of meetings and the sheer lack of time prevent adequate exploration of extension problems.

In theory, extension directors obtain instructors of extension courses from campus faculties. In practice, at least two factors cause extension directors to acquire many instructors from other sources. First, practitioners from business, industry, and the professions are often a good influence in the extension teaching force. Secondly, members of campus faculties are often too busy or simply disinclined to do extension teaching. As a result of both these factors, members of the campus faculties of the University of California, for example, make up only about 20 percent of the total extension teaching force.

Reference has already been made to the use of an advisory committee composed of faculty representatives as an instrument for maintaining relationships between campus faculties and extension divisions. In addition, all three of the institutions cooperating in the Carnegie study regularly obtain the approval of the appropriate academic department for the offering of both noncredit and credit courses, and approval of extension instructors who are not members of the campus faculties. At Pennsylvania State College, as has already been indicated, each undergraduate school has a director and supervisory staff with responsibility for extension work in that field of knowledge. At Chicago, a program such as the one for executives is worked out cooperatively between the Dean of University College and the School of Business on campus. At California, the relationship with academic departments is maintained chiefly through appointment of liaison officers in extension, who simultaneously carry academic status and usually some teaching responsibilities in the department which they represent. These officers are largely responsible for organizing and supervising courses and for nominating and obtaining departmental approval of instructors.

Indiana University has come to the conclusion that cooperation between members of the campus faculties and members of the extension division must be founded on mutual respect, which, in turn, must be based not only on active association but also on equality in rank and salary. Accordingly, it is seeking joint appointments, by both extension and the appropriate campus department, for all full-time extension administrative, teaching, and staff (for example, audio-visual department) employees, with rank and salary equal to rank and salary attached

to equivalent positions in the campus department or administration. This policy is the result of a recommendation which emanated from a university survey. It has now been carried through for about one third of the extension employees at Indiana. The University of Michigan also favors joint appointments.

Our three institutions show wide variation in their policies regarding graduate credit for extension study. At Chicago it is theoretically possible to earn a master's degree in any of the University's divisions through extension study alone. In practice a full list of courses for the master's degree is regularly offered only in business administration, education, and social work. Two full curriculums for the Master of Business Administration degree are offered, and most extension students who are working for a master's degree are doing so in business administration. At California limited graduate credit is allowed for extension study when certain conditions set by the Graduate Council are met. Pennsylvania State College once had a rather liberal policy on graduate credit for extension study, experienced some difficulties and virtually dropped the plan, and is now beginning cautiously to redevelop its program.

In view of Chicago's policy and Clark's study,[9] which shows that 21 of 56 universities queried permit 25 percent or more of the work for the master's degree to be earned through extension study, a more general shift of policy in support of graduate work in extension may be expected. The probable solution to this problem is already in the making. A number of extension divisions are developing strong programs of graduate work in fields of study in which conditions are peculiarly favorable. Thus Chicago has developed two programs for the Master of Business Administration degree and Illinois one for the Master of Public Administration degree. Pennsylvania State College and the University of Virginia are developing similar work in scientific fields in cooperation with industrial and governmental enterprises where advanced research under the direction of distinguished scientists is in progress.

With the possible exception of legislative representatives, university extension administrators, more than any other university staff members, occupy positions of high visibility as far as the university's public is concerned. They are frequently called upon to interpret and explain university policies, many of which were designed for campus administration and the protection of campus standards. The attempt to apply these literally to extramural work frequently causes difficulty for the administrator and frustration for the off-campus public. Resistance to change in the direction of liberalizing campus requirements and extending service programs to the general public can often be traced to a lack of information about what extension is trying to accomplish and the educational results already achieved. Such reasoning brings us back once again to the responsibility of every extension administrator for giving high priority to the job of interpreting and explaining the university's extramural program to its regular faculty and administrative officers. Until this challenge is met effectively, the concept which

the late President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin first expressed in his view of extension as the instrument for making the boundaries of the campus coterminous with the boundaries of the state cannot flourish elsewhere.

Just as the extension administrator must frequently react to or resist pressures from within the university to modify his administrative policies, so must he be a public-relations expert in his negotiations and relationships with agencies of adult education outside the university, including public schools, libraries, professional societies, community organizations, and civic agencies. The use of advisory citizens' committees in the Pennsylvania State College community centers, the offerings in the field of chemistry as worked out by the University of Chicago and the Chicago Chapter of the American Chemical Society, and the community-representative system in operation in California all represent attempts to provide a bridge between the extension administration and the public it seeks to serve.

The development of professional and specialized courses in all three of the extension divisions described here illustrates how this kind of cooperative relationship grows. Whether a demand is for a continuing educational program for the bar, a postgraduate program for business executives, or a short-term institute for members of the Steel Workers' Union, it is obvious that cooperative relationships have to be set up with the agencies representing the professional or lay group seeking help. Indeed, the practice of offering extension courses and institutes in cooperation with the organization which wants the service appears to be replacing the practice of simply offering services for the general public. It may be argued that university extension has done its most effective work as a servant to and cooperator with such groups, usually occupational in nature. Extension has been less universally successful in its relationships with total communities in themselves heterogeneous but on common ground in their search for university help in the development of community-improvement programs. The area administrators in the Pennsylvania State College extension program and the community representatives in the California pattern can become the channel through which this kind of consultant help can be given.

The relationship between the extension program of the state university and the extension programs of state colleges, teachers' colleges, and other private institutions of higher learning is still to be defined in detail. In the same category would be relationships between the state university and the adult-education programs of junior colleges and public schools.

The pattern of administrative cooperation worked out in any given state or community will depend, of course, upon local conditions, but, in general, it would seem to be reasonable in the light of experience to date to state as a guiding principle that where local resources are fairly well developed, the role of the university through its extension division is to supplement and strengthen the programs of existing agencies. It can certainly be argued that any university worthy of the name will command resources in teachers, research facilities, and

equipment which no other agency of adult education can conveniently or economically reproduce. If these resources can constitute the potential contribution which the university offers to the improvement of existing adult-education programs in the communities which it serves, then certainly we can expect that on this two-way street of relationships the local agencies of adult education in return will provide not only the continuing support which every university needs but also the laboratories for field observation and experimentation and the facilities for the extension of public knowledge which will at least partially condition the university's growth.

Thus far, all of California's community representatives are administrators of the public-school adult-education programs in their localities, and some of them also have responsibilities in the local junior-college adult-education programs. By virtue of their appointment as community representatives of University Extension, they are in a position to strengthen their local adult-education programs with extension services. University Extension goes into their communities only on their invitation. Thus possible competition and duplication are replaced by cooperation. This California plan will be of interest to many extension divisions as they face the inevitable growth of public-school and local college adult-education programs.

Program Trends

There are important new trends and targets in university extension work which deserve more than the honorable mention which it is possible to give within the limits of this chapter. There is, for example, the growing recognition of the need for postgraduate extension training in the professions. The impossibility of providing in university curriculums all the training that professional people will need is clearly apparent, and the offerings which university extension divisions have developed in cooperation with professional groups constitute in themselves an exciting chapter in the history of the movement. Law, medicine, dentistry, business, engineering, and education are among the professional groups now being served. The growing practice of planning short but intensive institutes and conferences, in which, through informal study and discussion, professional and civic groups utilize the expert resources of the university staff, deserves special mention. The work of the University of North Carolina's Bureau of Research Interpretation has demonstrated how a university can aid in bringing research and education into closer correspondence with the needs of people.

Two of these program trends have been selected for more than passing mention. In the report on *Adult Education in the Modern University* already referred to, extension directors were asked to state their aspirations or plans for adult-education development. The largest response to any single item for improving and extending methods of service was the expressed hope of thirteen directors for a resident center for continuation study.[10] This demand is, of course, a tribute

to the phenomenal success of the Center for Continuation Study at the University of Minnesota. In 1951, a Center for Continuing Education opened at Michigan State College in East Lansing. This Center, made possible through a grant from the Kellogg Foundation, has the most extensive facilities for residential institutes and conferences now available in any university.[11]

Some indication of what extension divisions can do when such facilities are available is apparent from the following description, by Julius M. Nolte, of the work of the University of Minnesota center.[12]

The center for Continuation Study of the University of Minnesota, recently has finished its twelfth year of operation. Physically, the Center is a three-story fireproof brick building on the main campus. It is a residence college, with lounge, library, chapel, seminar and class rooms, dining room and dormitory (bedroom space for 78 persons). There is a heated garage in connection. To this building individuals and groups repair for continuation study in specialized departments of knowledge. When they come as individuals, they make arrangements in advance for study under the direction of appropriate faculty members. When they come as groups, the University conducts for them a course responsive to their needs. In all cases, the registrants pay a tuition fee based on the cost of the instruction. They also pay for lodging and meals.

In its first 12½ years, the new department conducted 812 "schools" or courses for a total of 40,252 persons. The courses varied in length from two days to a month, with the average seven days. The registrants have come from all parts of the United States. Most of them have been residents of Minnesota (31,120), but about a fourth have come from other states (8,708). In all, the census of Center enrollees includes representatives from 48 states, from the District of Columbia, from six Canadian provinces, and from several other foreign countries. Among the enrollees, men have predominated: there have been 24,773 men and 15,479 women. Of the 40,252 registrants, 29,193 have had college training; 9,358 have baccalaureate degrees, and 12,636 have advanced or professional degrees.

The subject-matter of the courses offered has been varied indeed. Strange to relate, the ministerial profession, from which came the idea for the venture, has not been among the frequent users of the building. There have been, however, many courses for educators, ranging in content from problems of revising elementary and secondary-school curriculums to improvement in the methods of preparing and selecting teachers. There have been many courses for physicians and surgeons and for persons working in hospitals and institutions associated with the medical profession. There have been many courses for public employees in positions which, because of the direct impact of their duties upon the public welfare, have decidedly professional qualifications. There have been a number of courses for engineers, civil, mechanical, and mining. There have been several

courses for social-welfare workers, in both public and private agencies. There have been courses for dentists, pharmacists, for lawyers. And there have been some courses which might be classed as civic or cultural, which although they have been conducted upon a professional level, have been attended by many who took them less from a professional interest than from the equally keen interest of the enlightened amateur: courses in government, child health and guidance, photography, Scandinavian culture, creative writing. Of the total of 812 courses, approximately 70 per cent have been given for professional persons actively performing or practicing in the professional occupations studied in the courses. If a housewife can be considered as a professional in her attitude toward the problems of her home, or a citizen professional in his attitude toward the problems of government, this percentage will be larger. The age distribution of the enrollees indicates that the appeal of the Center is strongest for those of middle age, and those approaching or at the peak of their powers. The arithmetical average age is about forty-five years; the median average age is nearly forty-three years.

Statistically, the record of the Center is not impressive. After all, 40,252 persons are not many when set beside the multitudes who throng to adult-education centers of various kinds throughout this country. But when it is remembered that the Center is in a real sense the graduate school of the adult-education movement, and that its registrants are a selected professional class with little interest in entertainment and with no further interest in academic or professional degrees, the fact that in 12½ years some forty thousand successful and competent persons have visited the Center in order to receive expert guidance is impressive. It abundantly justifies the foresight of President Coffman in assuming that a university department devoted to the continuing educational needs of already well-educated persons would be patronized, and it is significant of the direction which our education is likely to take.

A second major program trend has developed in the general area of community service and community development. The tendency to regard the community as a direct client of university extension is relatively new. The traditional practice has been to provide programs which will meet the needs and interests of individual adults or of groups of adults but to give little emphasis to activities designed to help communities help themselves in action programs leading to the solution of community problems. There are many reasons, not all of them historical, which explain this reluctance to enter the community-development field. In a study of university extension supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, one of the staff committees of the three cooperating institutions (Chicago, Pennsylvania State and California) which participated in the study devoted special attention to the field of community service.

Speaking of the tendency of most universities to limit community service to

bringing leaders to the campus for training and information rather than working with local leaders in their own communities on the problems peculiar to that community, the committee presented the following hypothesis.[13]

There are a number of reasons why things stand thus at so many institutions. Some of these reasons are concerned with tradition and inertia. Teaching, particularly at the university level, has emphasized the giving of information. The man whose gizzard is chock full of facts and who scratches diligently for more facts is honored; the practitioner is not. Informational courses have been at a premium, skill courses at a discount. To talk learnedly about juvenile delinquency in a class or institute on the campus is easy compared to helping John Doe and Rachel Roe do something about juvenile delinquency in the town of Crossroads. There the scholar is often at a discount and what counts is know-how in human relations, familiarity with the mechanisms of small communities, leg work, an immunity to chicken croquettes and mashed potatoes, and maybe a good hand at poker or a guitar. Indeed we may well ask ourselves whether we know enough about human relations and community work to take on this responsibility. Where would you look for a community-development specialist if you needed one tomorrow?

Classes and institutes in the sanctuary of the campus are also safer than an action program in Crossroads. In fact, one of our three institutions has a regulation that "No formal action may be taken, or resolutions or recommendations presented or adopted at any session" of its extension institutes.

And they are also a good deal cheaper. There isn't a community-development program in the country, that we know of, that comes anywhere near paying for itself. Industry knows that special-interest training can pay off in results (e.g. Chicago's Harvester Project). Communities either haven't found this out, or don't really want an action program, or can't pay the bill. This fact alone makes a tough problem for an extension director whose division must be largely self-supporting. Penn State has done what it has in community development despite the fact that the entire extension division receives only 14% of its budget from the parent institution.

One other reason is our tendency to see community development as the one-shot service that many of our other extension services are. A community asks for some information, or a study, or a training course, maybe gets it, and that's all. Whereas successful community development is much more likely to be a long, slow process that partakes of the consultant relationship.

What will effective programs of community development look like? We are beginning to see some answers to this question in the descriptions of successful programs which are now commencing to appear. At this point we could stand more reports and a good deal more research in this young and growing area of extension service.

Meanwhile, by way of summary, we shall restate here some of the ideas and procedures we've run across in our examination of our three institutions and the literature of community development. Extension divisions can help citizens improve the communities they live in by:

1. Setting up a special service within the extension division to handle community development, if this seems wise. It has been found desirable by the universities of Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma A. and M., Purdue, Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

2. Establishing a field organization to serve as a means of community-university communication. California, Indiana, Penn State, Wisconsin and other extension divisions have experimented with different patterns of field organizations.

3. Selecting well-qualified community representatives.

4. Appointing one or more competent traveling specialists in community development, such as those employed by the universities of Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Penn State, Purdue, Virginia and Wisconsin.

5. Encouraging the formation of community councils. Indiana and Michigan have done much of this.

6. Using a coordinated rather than a piecemeal approach to problems of community development. . . . Penn State believes it is wise to set up an all-university committee, representative of the several colleges, whose function it is to guide community development projects. Establishment of such a committee can lead to better understanding within the institution of the objectives of the community-development program, place wider resources at the disposal of the program, and enable the institution to present a unified approach when working in a community.

7. Finding out about and soliciting the cooperation of other agencies which are carrying on programs of adult education in the community. Penn State emphasizes the importance of this point.

8. Employing suitable means to bring the service to the attention of communities. A community news letter is used for this purpose by the universities of Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Purdue, Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

9. Publishing the results of their experience as guides to the rest of us, as has been done by the universities of New Mexico and Virginia.

We can add to this list, as Points 10-17, some suggestions from the University of Virginia:[14]

10. Awakening the individual to a realization of his importance, disturbing his indifference or complacence, and stimulating him to play the active role which democracy demands of its citizens.

11. Helping the community to discover and train potential leadership and to use, to the best advantage, official, professional, and "hereditary" leadership which already holds an accepted place in its life.

12. Helping groups of citizens, their officials, and professional workers in agencies set up to serve them, to analyze community resources in relation to needs and aspirations, and to determine effective programs of action growing out of such study.

13. Supplying factual information, materials for study, and suggestions for procedure to individuals, committees, study groups, organizations or agencies concerned in community development programs.

14. Providing leadership from its own staff or drawn from various departments of the University or other agencies for community study in relation to specific needs.

15. Putting citizens in touch with research agencies and helping them to adapt the materials of research to their own needs or to translate them into language and form meaningful to the average person.

16. Bringing problems or needs of communities to the attention of research or service agencies, thus setting in motion the two-way process that can assure the submitting of problems to scientific study and the application of results of research to living.

17. Reaffirming and demonstrating to educators and professional workers, as well as to citizens in their communities, that adult education must be a two-way process and that, to the degree it achieves this, it becomes effective as a way of helping communities to help themselves through the efforts of their own citizens.

Any college or university which seriously wants to help the citizens of its constituency to improve the communities they live in should consider a community-development service as a means of doing so. There is little evidence that "university extension as usual" makes any dent in community problems. There is considerable evidence that through *this* kind of extension service, community improvement can begin *now*.

Point 7 in the list above stresses the importance of soliciting the cooperation of other agencies which are carrying on programs of adult education in the community. This point deserves further consideration since it raises the whole question of what should be the relationship between university-sponsored adult-education activities and those initiated by local public and private agencies. One way of meeting this problem is outlined in the following selection by Paul Sheats:[15]

What should be the relationship between university-sponsored adult-education activities and those initiated by local public and private agencies? A carefully thought-out answer to this question is fundamental in the long-range de-

velopment of adult-education services in the United States. It would seem to this writer that in spite of temporary setbacks in some sections of the country, the trend toward state support of public adult schools is fairly well established. The patterns of state support now operative in California, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin may differ in detail, but there seems no disposition to question the assumption which underlies the commitment in each of these states to financial support of adult education as an integral part of the public education system of the state. In California, state support this year will make possible a program serving about one million citizens. Approximately one hundred fifty adult-education administrators will be at work in California communities, inventorying community needs, developing classes, organizing forums, and conducting institutes and training programs. If, within the next ten years, these procedures become typical in even the more populous states, university-extension divisions which now operate extensive off-campus programs may find the experience of the University of California helpful.

Operating on what might be called a theory of abundance rather than scarcity as applied to adult education, University of California Extension . . . under the directorship of Baldwin M. Woods, has encouraged in every possible way the development of the local adult school programs. The pattern has been one of co-operation in a common effort to meet community needs more fully without fear by either party that the saturation point in adult education will shortly be reached.

This co-operation has been implemented officially at two levels in the following ways: first, at the state level, by joint representation of University Extension and public-school adult-education directors on a State Advisory Committee on Adult Education, appointed jointly by the president of the University and the state superintendent of public instruction; second, at the community level by appointment of certain directors of public-school adult education as resident representatives of University Extension in that school district. In addition there is the informal and unofficial type of co-operative relationship which develops out of shared responsibilities among University Extension staff members and public adult school officers in the programs of state adult-education associations, of which there are three major ones in the state at the present time.

A further word about implementation at the community level may be helpful. There are at present six communities in the state in which this type of relationship has been formalized by University appointment of the local director of adult education or a staff member named by him as resident extension representative. In no two communities is the administrative pattern exactly alike, but in general the arrangement is as follows: a request for such an appointment is usually initiated by the superintendent of schools, who recommends that his director of adult education, or a staff member designated by him, be appointed by the University as extension representative in the area. In some instances, appointment implies sharing with the school district in the compensation of the local representative;

in other instances, financial support is provided by the University through the employment of additional administrative or clerical staff. . . .

The mechanics of these co-operative arrangements are perhaps less important than the operating results. In effect, the arrangements mean that University Extension recognizes the primary responsibility of the local adult school staff for identifying local community needs. Many of these needs can be met adequately and most efficiently by the provision of free services to adults under the state system of public support. Other needs, particularly those of college and university graduates for refresher work and advanced professional training, can best be met by tapping the resources of the University through Extension. The important point is that the pattern outlined here does operate to eliminate competition and overlapping of function as between University Extension and the local adult school. Major responsibility for the development of a well-rounded community program of adult education rests where it belongs—in the hands of the local adult school administrator. In practice, in California, the arrangement has operated to extend extension services to the people of the communities in which these resident representatives are appointed, particularly on those levels and in those areas where University resources can be used to best advantage.

The whole problem of how relationships among adult-education agencies of this country can be worked out in the best interests of a well-rounded program of community adult education will be given further attention in Chapter 13, on program planning and coordination of community resources.

Historically and currently, as we have seen, universities and colleges have played a major role in the developing and growing adult-education movement in the United States. Extension divisions, evening colleges, municipal universities, and small liberal arts colleges are in part at least meeting the challenge laid down by the President's Commission on Higher Education. The problems of adjusting to the widely varying needs of the mature adult policies formulated primarily with full-time resident students in mind are not easily solved. Nor is it a simple matter, within the limited resources of these institutions of higher learning, to add to the acknowledged responsibilities of on-campus instruction and research the larger obligation of public service inherent in any meaningful commitment to adult education.

On the other hand, both for their own salvation and the common good, the need for the wider spread of existing knowledge and maximal use of university and college resources in improving citizen competency cannot and will not be ignored. The Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. can perform no more important service to the adult-education movement than to focus public attention, as it is now doing in its efforts to develop area organizations, upon the key role which the universities and colleges must play in the years ahead.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

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IF ONE LOOKS ABOUT HIM in whatever community one may be, one of the outstanding features will be the number of organizations which help to make up the life of that community. Observers of America have, for more than a century, been moved to comment upon the great number of organizations to which men, women, and children belong. We are supposed to be a nation of joiners; if there is anything that needs to be done or undone, we form an organization and recruit members.

To say that our nation is made up of a vast array of organizations is both an understatement and an overstatement. On the one hand, it does not include the web of informal organizations, about which we shall have more to say later. On the other hand, it fails to reveal the large segment of our population which belongs to no one of these name organizations. Community studies seldom show less than 25 percent in this group of nonmembers, and the percentage may run as high as 60.

Regardless of its exact scope, the organizational network is a vital part of our concept of adult education. With a clearer understanding on the part of the members of the groups and of the leaders of adult education regarding ways of cooperating, these organizations will play an even more significant part. A few communities have experimented sufficiently with the possibilities of program service to establish the activities of groups beyond doubt as a vital part of the community educational program for a democracy.

Consider what a resource this organizational network provides. Here is a series of ongoing activities, many of which are directly educational in nature and virtually all of which have some educational aspects, if we use the term in the broad sense of helping people learn how to do better something they want to do. If in some way assistance can be given to the leaders of these group activities through help on planning programs, getting pamphlets, films, and resource persons, improving the methods used, and beginning to evaluate results, the groups will have more satisfaction because it will have done a better job and the community will benefit from the improved quality of learning on the part of a significant number of its members. This kind of educational assistance to organized groups is known as program service and is one of the significant developments in adult education. This service may be provided by a library, the public schools, a college, or some other resource group which can make professional help available. The Schenectady program provided through the public schools is described in Chapter 7.

The readiness of groups for help of this kind has been dramatized in *Adult Leadership*[1] through the story of a program chairman which typifies the situation faced by most such persons. They have no experience upon which to draw and they tend to repeat many of the errors of their predecessors.

Dan and Gretchen Matthews had joined the Moorestown Current Affairs Club five years ago when their friends, Ben and Helen Levin, were on the membership committee. They thought some of the meetings were dull, but they hadn't disliked them enough to drop out of the Club, and last year Dan had been membership chairman himself. This year the Executive Committee said it was his turn to be program chairman. When he said yes, it seemed the only thing to do. As a matter of fact, there had never been any chance for him to say no. And it was an honor in a way, it really was—not that he wanted to see his name in the paper. But it meant that everyone had confidence in him—well, knew he'd do a good job, or at least try hard. Besides, they liked him!

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At lunch the next day, Dan and Mr. Harper, the President of the Current Affairs Club, got together to begin planning the programs for the season. "What we need is some variety," Jim Harper began, gesturing with his cigar to indicate variety, and Dan agreed, "Absolutely! That's exactly what I was thinking!"

"But you know, Jim," he continued lamely, "I don't know that I should have taken on this job. Pretty busy, you know, and I don't know anything about it. Not the first thing."

"Nonsense!" Jim boomed. "You've been a member for four or five years, haven't you? One of our most reliable members, I might add. You've been to a lot of meetings, you've heard a lot of programs. You know what's good, what a good

program is. You know what our members like—I dare say a lot better than some of us old war horses who've been running the show. You've been out there in the audience, out there where you could tell if a program was lousy or if the members didn't like it."

"Well—" Dan wasn't at all sure he knew what a good program was or what the members liked. As for being in the audience, half the time he was thinking about something else and wasn't even conscious of where he was—and (he remembered one meeting last year his friends thought was wonderful and he thought was terrible) maybe he didn't think the same as the others, anyway. Who was right? How could he know if a program was good?

One important feature of program service is that it leaves to the organizations the full responsibility for policy determination. The leaders from any group can, through program service, broaden their ideas of the kind of programs possible, they can carry them out more effectively, and they can, if they wish, relate them to other programs in the community, but it is entirely in their hands as to whether or not they do. The way in which service to organizations broadens the community program will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 13.

"Voluntary Organizations"

In one sense the term "voluntary" is not a definitive one. In a democracy all organizations have a certain amount of voluntary-ness. What are some groups that we do include as voluntary and some that we do not? Included are women's groups, such as units of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, League of Women Voters, and Junior Leagues; men's luncheon clubs, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions; citizens' groups associated with the schools, such as parent-teacher associations; groups associated with churches; veterans' organizations; consumer groups; garden clubs; age groups, such as Golden Years Clubs or Young Adult groups; special-interest groups, such as health groups. Not included are organizations associated with areas covered by other chapters in this section: schools, colleges, libraries, museums, organized labor groups. The line is not sharp, and we do not want to press the distinctions. The important thing is to find in the community as many groups of these kinds as possible and to increase their values for the adult-education program.

Something of the potentialities and problems of these organizations is given in the section on "Men's and Women's Clubs" in the *Handbook of Adult Education*,[2] which treats those groups that are for women only or for men only and points out certain broad differences between the two kinds. Although the differences between men's and women's groups are useful to recognize in dealing with such clubs, the important point is the value of these groups for adult education. This value they share with mixed groups, such as foreign-policy and parent-teacher associations.

The article from which this selection is taken began with a general introduction and a brief historical treatment of women's clubs. The article then continued with the problems of women's clubs.

An interesting and very fair postwar appraisal of women's organizations in this country is presented in a magazine article by Margaret Culkin Banning. In this article, Mrs. Banning discusses the American movement in the light of the attention it has attracted, since the close of World War II, as a possible model for similar women's movements in other countries.

Mrs. Banning's diagnosis of the weaknesses of women's organizations is both competent and thorough. At the same time, she points out that the efficiency of women's work on ration boards, for the Red Cross, and in many other types of wartime service, was undoubtedly due in large part to their having had valuable practice in working together in their peacetime organizations. And although she reports regretfully that "at the end of the war, women went back to words instead of deeds," she sees certain emerging trends which she interprets as a challenge to, if not a promise of, future worth-while achievements.

Recent Trends

There have been many signs, both before and since the Second World War, that organized women's groups have come to be regarded from several points of view as at least potentially powerful forces in our society. A variety of institutions and agencies, including university extension departments, public schools, business organizations, and newspaper and magazine publishing companies, have set up women's club bureaus or services, motivated at least in part by a desire to help women's groups to improve both their study and action programs. Whether these services have been selfish or altruistic in purpose, the results have unquestionably been beneficial so far as they have aided women's groups to discover and develop their talents and resources for the common good. When, on the contrary, the club services have encouraged the acceptance and use of cut-and-dried, prepared programs that make a pretense of spontaneity, their contribution to sincerity, independent thinking, and effective group action is dubious, to say the least.

Most hopeful of recent developments in the women's club movement are the purely self-help organizations such as the Nassau County (Long Island) Woman's Forum, which aims to substitute cooperation for competition among women's groups.

Men's Clubs

Unlike American women's clubs, which Dorothy Canfield Fisher says "are as native to our soil as the sugar maple and the Ford car," the men's clubs in this country can be traced back directly to the eighteenth century men's groups that met in London inns and coffee houses to share food and drink and talk.

The oldest known American club is the Junto of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1727. [See page 75 for a description of the Junto.] It was Franklin's idea that the Junto should hold weekly discussions on morals, politics, and natural philosophy, and that these discussions should lead to action which would be beneficial to the community. In this latter respect, Junto has fully justified its founder's hopes. The American Philosophical Society, The Franklin Institute, the University of Pennsylvania, the first American public library, and the first Philadelphia mutual fire insurance company are all outcomes of Junto discussions.

Junto and the other American men's clubs of the eighteenth century represented only the beginning of a movement that broadened and deepened rapidly, as cities multiplied and new ideas spread across the country. However, the men's club movement has never even approximated the record made by the women's movement, either in the number and variety of groups organized or in the total membership enrolled.

Frank Ernest Hill, who made a study of the educational activities of men's clubs in 1938, lists the following objectives most frequently given by men as their reasons for joining clubs: (1) to develop friendships, (2) to get occupational knowledge, (3) to render "service" to the community, (4) to find relaxation, (5) to gain prestige, (6) to improve intellectually, (7) to get business.

Contrasts Between Men's and Women's Clubs

This list of self-acknowledged purposes confirms the general impression that sociability and a natural desire to get together are much more impelling and conscious motives with clubmen than with clubwomen and that, in a majority of men's clubs, the educational programs, if any, are incidental. Mr. Hill's estimate, which other students of the subject consider very generous, places the total of men's club members affected by educational activities somewhere between two and three million.

In regard to the attitude of most men's clubs toward educational programs, as compared with the typical attitude of women's groups, Mr. Hill writes:

> Insistence upon the direct approach to education seems to me to be typically masculine. Women, in contrast, feel an obligation toward culture. They work out programs consciously designed to promote study. They even attack dutifully subjects in which they have little interest and about which they know almost nothing. The obligation to perform and the satisfaction of performance are often sufficient incentives for them. Men will work as hard—at their best they will perhaps perform with greater brilliance—but they reject a direct approach and usually take no pride in serving culture with a capital C. Their impatience with anything labeled as study is both unquestionable and of the highest importance in any effort that may be made to improve the character of the masculine contribution to education in America.

And here is Mr. Hill's final judgment on the effectiveness of this "indirect approach to education," preferred by men:

> On the whole, the weakness of men's groups as educational agencies may be thought of as lying in the relatively passive character of a large part of the work (too much listening and not enough participation), in the uneven nature of many of the more promising activities, in the narrowness of range which the clubs generally show, in the emptiness of a considerable amount of the speaking heard, and in the relatively small amount of studying done even by those who are participating. As discussion clubs, art clubs, music and crafts clubs grow in number, if they do, and as individual members of service clubs and business organizations take on an increasing share of activity (and this on the whole seems to be their tendency), the clubs should become more important cultural influences.

Advice to Adult Educators

Of the potential usefulness of clubs, both men's and women's, as agencies of adult education, there would seem to be no question. It is clearly evident, too, that there are club leaders who see and are trying to correct the weaknesses that prevent these potentialities from being fully realized. But, obviously, the responsibility for bringing adult education and men's and women's clubs into a more effectively cooperative relationship rests as much upon adult educators as upon club leaders.

Informal Groups

In addition to the formal, name organizations that are so prominent in our society, there are, as we pointed out at the opening of this chapter, a large number of informal groups, often without a name and generally without an organizational structure. The great importance of these groups for adult education has been shown in a few experimental programs which have been able to work with them. Because of their informal nature, they are not easy to discover and are generally overlooked. Hurley Doddy's study[3] tells an interesting story of how one investigator was able to get his first clues and of the ramifications caused by linkages among these autonomous groups.

Mrs. Maria Rogers, the secretary of the Committee on Autonomous Groups, has summarized some of the main points in the *Handbook of Adult Education*:[4]

Discussion of "autonomous" groups brings to the foreground the importance of classifying human beings. There are two different ways. The first is by categories. In this type of classification, human beings are grouped according to one single criterion or a combination of criteria. Veterans, adolescents, factory-workers, parents, capitalists; these are similar categories of people, having in

common some mutual experience or attribute—participation in a war, age, type of employment, and so on. These categories refer to single aspects of individuals, who may, and do, vary greatly in personality, and who may feel no impulse to associate with others just because they are members of the same category. Individuals within these categories may even dislike one another and would find it difficult to work together for a common aim.

The other way of classifying human beings is by natural groups. In this type of classification, which is the older and more persistent, individuals are grouped according to their affinities and disaffinities. All successful organizations, all enterprises that are effective, are based on these natural groupings.

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They exist in rural communities, and there they can be found without much effort. In cities, however, they have to be sought for. Categorical groupings based on "interests" appear to outweigh the natural groups in importance. This is an illusion and a dangerous one. Therefore, a concerted effort must be made to bring the natural group to the attention of social workers, educators, businessmen, and all other specialists whose work requires organization or instruction of human beings. Lack of knowledge of natural groups causes specialists to attempt to group human beings in artificial ways which negate well-meant efforts to improve and maintain social institutions. For it must be emphasized that natural groupings are a *sine qua non* for constructive enterprises and successful organizations.

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The discovery and scientific study of intimate groups have started a revolution in education. It is in the intimate group, we have now begun to see, that the individual's personality develops, his habits of cooperation are formed, his social skills are practised, his creativity is released. With the recognition of these all-important truths, emphasis is shifting from the techniques of teaching to the processes of learning. Or, to describe this emergent trend in simpler terms: the function of the teacher can now be seen as that of working with natural groups, within which real learning takes place, *assisting* them to perform their functions more ably, from the point of view both of the individual and of society.

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Natural Groups in Adult Education

The revolution in education brought about by the new understanding of groups will have marked repercussions upon adult education. Coming late on the scene as a conscious movement, adult education borrowed almost its whole equipment of philosophy, techniques, and assumptions from formal education. It aimed to reproduce among adults the situations that had been developed for children and adolescents. However, adults were not subject to a compulsory education law; they did not have to go to school unless they chose. And most of

them did not choose to subject themselves to the strait-jacket of conventional educational methods and operations. Because adult educational enterprises had to *lure* students into their activities, they modified to some degree the severity of their approach. But it was a *modification*, not a completely new direction.

The most enthusiastic and sincere of adult educators have always been concerned about the fact that the bulk of educational courses sought by adults are *vocational* in nature; the arts, and cultural activities in general, play no very impressive part in rolling up attendance figures. The explanation of this phenomenon becomes clear when the orientation of adult education is shifted from the benefits of education for the individual to a view which includes the delights of companionship in natural groups. Then we begin to see and understand that an individual, in order to advance his economic position, will surrender the pleasures of association with congenial companions. But when it comes to pursuit of the higher amenities of life, the same individual finds the going too chilly if he has to register alone for a course of instruction and join a class of students who are strangers to him. He prefers to pursue a more rambling exploration of these pleasures with companions of his own choosing, and to go without benefit of instruction if his natural relationships must be surrendered to obtain it.

Before adult education became a full-fledged "movement" in the early 1920's, it had had a healthy, vigorous development in the United States. And this development was an achievement of natural groupings. Throughout the pioneer period in our country, natural groups of individuals banded together to explore any subject matter which interested them. "Study groups" existed before the name for them was invented. Some of our most charming stories of adult educational activities are to be found in local records of New England towns. Neighbors met in one another's homes or in the village hall to hold discussions about philosophy and concerns of mutual interest. Many a time, Ralph Waldo Emerson talked to his neighbors at such meetings. And he came to listen to other neighbors who had something to say about ichthyology, botany, mechanics, history. The extraordinary ferment of intellectual activity which produced new ideas and inventions at a great rate in the United States in the early part of the Nineteenth Century was a product of the functioning of natural groupings.

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In these natural groups, individuals feel secure; they can communicate with one another without fear of misunderstanding; they have common attitudes and a common pool of convictions upon which to draw for interpretation of new points of view. Everyone in such groups can be easy and relaxed. Adult education is carried on as an expression of sociability and of the human propensity for association.

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As Franklin, Socrates, and Pierce behaved, so do we all. If we are interested in ideas, we prefer to discuss them with friends whose company we enjoy. What-

ever we like to do, from playing bridge to climbing mountains, we want to do with friends. Individuals without intimate friends constitute only a small and pathetic fraction of the human race. This fraction the sociometrists distinguish as *isolates*, individuals who reject others and are rejected by them. There is strong ground for suspicion that it is to this fraction of isolates in every population that the conventionally organized adult education activities make their strongest appeal. It is therefore obvious that if adult education is to attain the volume and to achieve the ideals which its leaders envision, adult educators must find the way to link up their skills with the ongoing structures of human society and adjust their methods to the needs of natural groups.

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The Committee (on Autonomous Groups) has found that recognition of the transcendent importance of intimate groups does more than point the way to helping groups that conform to our mores. It also leads to new methods of solving "social problems." A case in point is a very successful project for the reduction of juvenile delinquency in Chicago. There it was demonstrated that aid to groups to which juvenile delinquents belong goes far in leading them to change their codes of behavior, to adjust to and accept socially approved standards of morality. This experience helps to validate the theory, advanced by Dr. Frank Tannenbaum and other students of crime, that the attack on delinquency should be on the group which the delinquent counts as friends; that the aim should be to change the *group's* attitudes, ideals, interests, and habits. The juvenile delinquent, like the criminal, is adjusted to his own social group and violently objects to and evades any social therapy that would make him maladjusted to it.

Adult educators have moved out into the community in the effort to aid citizen organizations to solve social problems. It is essential that they carry into their community work awareness of the central importance of natural groups and knowledge of techniques for aiding the development of such groups. Equipped with this knowledge and understanding, adult educators can be very effective in an area which has so far resisted the efforts of battalions of "community organizers" and social workers.

Few groups are so self-satisfied that they do not wish for help. Most of them want to become more efficient in carrying out their expressed or latent purposes, in making a better integration with the larger community. But they want the help to be given in a way which enables them to preserve their dignity and their sense of group-identity. They want the cultural and educational agencies that give the help to respect the group's own leadership. They want any educational program that may be set up for the group to be geared into the felt needs of its members. Groups can not be dictated to; they can not be imposed upon. When agencies attempt such domination, however tactfully, the group disappears, to re-form in a more congenial atmosphere. It is because these natural groups thus

cherish and protect their autonomy that the Committee feels this characteristic of theirs must be emphasized continually. It has thus chosen to call them "autonomous" groups.

The Contribution of Voluntary Organizations to Community Development

Throughout this volume we have stressed the community base for adult education. We have viewed the educational services for adults as those which are needed to help the members of the community live a richer life. In this larger pattern of living the voluntary organizations play an important part—a part that is increasing in significance as we see what is involved in making democracy work.

Our next selection sets forth a philosophy of volunteer service as worked out by the Junior League, an organization devoted to helping make the community a better place in which to live. In this selection the reader will note the references to the interrelations between the volunteer and the professional, a problem of major concern to persons interested in community development.[5]

The rent that we pay for living in a free society is not the financial contribution that we make but the giving of ourselves. Voluntary effort is the very substance of a democracy and working together has always been a part of the American way of life. This pattern offers the opportunity for each of us to share in community service, which is not only a democratic obligation but also a democratic privilege.

The place of the volunteer in social welfare has followed a fluctuating pattern. Many years ago, social welfare services were performed entirely by volunteers. This was an outgrowth of the neighborliness of our pioneer days and seemed sufficient for the need of that time. Later, as life grew more complex and urban populations increased, more people needed help and it became necessary to develop specialized services and establish agencies to meet the social problems. There was a need to employ trained personnel to carry part of the load. "Charity" gave way to social work; the practitioners in the new field acquired special techniques and training, and a new profession evolved.

As this new profession earned recognition and importance, the place of the volunteer in community service diminished year by year until social welfare became the responsibility of the professionals. In many instances, the layman's part in the welfare program consisted of raising money for causes not too well understood.

However, it wasn't long before the professionals themselves began to realize

the need for more citizen participation. They saw that valid community planning must originate with the people who live in the community and must evolve from the joint efforts of the professional and the volunteer. As a result, new opportunities for volunteer service developed, and once again volunteers began to play an increasingly vital part in community service in both voluntary and governmental agencies. This required a knowledge and understanding of community problems on the part of citizen participants, as well as a willingness and determination to meet these problems adequately and successfully.

Today the most dynamic, well-rounded community service programs include professional leadership and citizen participation. The professionals have come to appreciate the importance of the volunteer and both her actual and her potential contribution. The volunteer is well aware of the need for community services and of her place in them. She realizes the importance of the professionally trained workers in the community agencies. The trained workers give her the stimulation of working with people who can interpret not only the individual services but their relation to the whole community picture. Furthermore, the volunteer is aware that her life is closely bound to the lives of the people in her own community, as well as to the lives of people in remote parts of the world. Because she realizes that constructive volunteer service is one way of strengthening the resources of her community and because community boundaries are constantly being extended and effaced, the results of such service are felt far beyond their immediate locale.

Inherent in the philosophy of voluntary service is the belief that the development of the individual is meaningless unless it results in a tangible contribution to the world in which she lives. The sustaining satisfaction in this individual participation derives from the ability to take a constructive part in community affairs and assume the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

This same fundamental concept of the importance of the volunteer in democratic life is expressed in a handbook of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies.[6]

In a democracy it is not essential, nor even desirable, that citizens should agree but it is imperative that they should participate. Opportunities for participation fall into two major categories, namely (*a*) political action and (*b*) action on behalf of voluntary institutions and agencies. A true citizen of a democratic society such as we enjoy in the United States is one who shares in both types of participation. He feels a sense of responsibility for his government and also for that vast constellation of private or voluntary institutions which supplements public agencies.

We often use these terms—"public" and "private"—as though they stood in opposition. Indeed, we frequently find ourselves saying "public *versus* private." This latter phrase appears to carry the meaning that an inevitable conflict exists between those services performed under governmental auspices and those sponsored by independent, voluntary bodies. This seems to me to constitute a serious error which, when carried to extremes of action, threatens the future of democracy. Democracies may be said to be moving towards a healthy state when official or governmental agencies and voluntary or private agencies function as though they were involved in a genuine partnership.

But a partnership is strong only when both partners are strong. If one is powerful and the other weak, there can be no true partnership. Many thoughtful Americans have come to recognize this truth and have thus assumed greater responsibilities in bringing strength to private or voluntary agencies and institutions. They have dedicated themselves to a new kind of participation, participation which is no longer desultory and haphazard but which on the contrary takes on the semblance of a task which demands their finest talents.

The selection above referred chiefly to the field of welfare services. The same problem of lay participation is central in the public schools, and a similar cycle of participation, lack of participation, and now a strong movement toward participation has been evident. Herbert Hamlin has pointed out this varying pattern of responsibility and some of the factors relating to it.[7]

There is a growing realization that the public schools are *public*. They belong to the public. The public pays their costs. They should be conducted in the public interest. They should serve the total public.

The American public school system developed in an atmosphere of public interest and concern. Laymen have had a large part in its development. Our earliest public school buildings were often built by the local people. Patrons boarded the teachers. Members of boards of education and parents supervised the teachers and examined the pupils. The limited funds for schools were voted at town or school meetings which all might attend and which were well attended.

Later, lay participation in public education declined. The development of large cities and large school districts made it more difficult for individuals to influence school policies. Colleges acquired and long maintained controls over the secondary schools. Powerful state departments of education, buttressed with large state school funds, were developed and state officials assumed some of the responsibilities formerly held by local laymen. A teaching profession arose with conceptions of "academic freedom" and a sense of professional expertness which separated the professionals from the amateurs in education. Professional school

administrators were employed and boards delegated many of their functions to their administrators. Administrators were commonly expected to organize the schools from the top down and to assume the principal responsibility for public relations.

Thus we developed many school systems which were largely managed by professional administrators and teachers. Boards of education in these systems became necessary evils, useful primarily in helping to get from the public the funds required to carry out the ideas of state and local professional workers. Laymen became almost unnecessary to the schools, except to furnish the students, elect a board of education, and pass on occasional bond issues. In at least one extreme case, parents were barred from visiting the schools their children were attending. The school's program of public relations was to "interpret the schools to the public," that is to tell the public how good the schools were and how much more money would be required to keep them excellent.

A code was developed, and enforced in some states by withdrawing state approval of schools if violated, which provided that teachers should work only with school administrators and that only administrators should have access to boards of education. Thus board members, the representatives of the public, were effectively isolated from teachers. In many situations strong local organizations of teachers developed and boards were obliged to deal with their representatives in matters of salary and teacher welfare, but teachers had other contacts with boards of education only as administrators allowed them.

Under such a system the administrator's lot became an unhappy one. He was caught between the board and the teachers. Board members might consider him a special pleader for the teachers. Teachers might think him the board's stooge. Often the administrator was the loneliest man in town because he was victim of a system which gave him a status and, with it, prerogatives and responsibilities he should never have had.

Arrangements which gave administrators too much authority and responsibility developed in some school systems because boards of education were interfering with administration and teaching. Neglecting their tasks of general policy-making, many boards, especially those in the smaller schools, were spending their time bargaining financially with individual teachers, passing on school disciplinary problems, buying supplies and equipment, and dealing with other matters better delegated to the professional staff.

Having lived through a series of undesirable arrangements, we are now possibly able to set up a new one in which students, teachers, the administration, the board, and the public share in policy-making, in appropriate ways, and in which all of these groups, or their representatives, have the systematic, face-to-face contacts essential in the harmonious development of policies that are fair to all.

The trend away from lay participation in public education has been arrested,

and in some cases it has been turned back. In many instances it has been painfully discovered that the public pays the bill for public schools and that it wants something to say about the kind of schools it gets for its money. Voters long left out of school planning have finally refused to vote adequate funds for school support.

One of the voluntary organizations that has taken an active part in the development of better education is the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA). It has frequently been criticized for involving itself in matters which appropriately belonged to the governmental body, the board of education. It has therefore endeavored to define the respective responsibilities of the school board and the parent-teacher groups.[8]

The school board's obligations.

a. To welcome and act upon constructive suggestions or recommendations from the parent-teacher organization concerning the educational needs of the community.

b. To regard the parent-teacher association as an able ally, ready to enlist community support of school board action.

c. To remember that it is elected or appointed to serve the *whole* community, which probably is more completely represented in the parent-teacher organization than in any other community group.

Responsibilities of the parent-teacher unit or council.

a. To deal directly with the school board in controversial matters regarding school policy and abstain from meddling in internal school administration.

b. To appraise the work of the school board constructively.

c. To arouse community interest in school affairs and school election issues.

d. To refuse, *as an organization*, to endorse school board candidates or seek their removal.

With intelligent leadership within the parent-teacher group and in the school administration, there can be a very effective working relationship which is of great assistance to the educational program in the community. The 1946 Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *School Boards in Action*, had the following to say regarding the work of parent-teacher organizations:[9]

Few organizations have the emotional stimulus possessed by the parent-teacher associations. Organized as they are on a local, state and national basis, they represent a potency and power exceeding that of almost any other interest group so far as public education is concerned. While they have no direct authority to interfere with the legal structure of public education or to dictate what the board of education or its employees shall do, the members can, as individuals, claim the right to appraise the work of the schools. They do have the power to create and develop public opinion for the purpose of influencing community thinking with respect to its educational needs.

When proper relationships are maintained between the PTA and boards of education, the combination will bring about greater understanding and better cooperation than could be attained by either group working independently. Frequently the parent-teacher association is the board's strongest ally. A most effective demonstration of this fact was observed during the late depression when schools were able to maintain much of their educational program, in the face of strong opposition, because of the unusual efforts of the members of parent-teacher groups dedicated to the solution of educational problems in terms of the welfare of children.

The parent-teacher association is primarily a clearinghouse for the presentation and discussion of educational problems out of which may grow an interpretation to the community of the purpose, the worth, and the needs of the public schools. Altho it is outside of the legal organization of the school district it has a definite place in the functional organization and should be considered as an advisory and cooperating group of first importance. It can act as an agency thru which essential parental education is carried on with the result that definite attitudes and ideals may be developed which will affect the people of the district as a whole.

If either the board of education or the PTA attempts to direct, threaten, or cajole the other, the educational program of the community will suffer. Both groups must recognize the basic principles upon which the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is founded. So long as it acts solely as a voluntary cooperating agency there should be little justification for conflict. The functional concept of the parent-teacher organization can be made effective, however, only under an intelligent and careful leadership capable of commanding the respect of board members and the public. An attitude on the part of the board to use the organization as a vital and valid agency in its public relations program will, under normal circumstances, result in better community understanding and appreciation of the purpose, the achievements, and the needs of the schools.

When conflicts arise they should be traced to their sources as quickly as possible and attempts made to remove the causes. Many conflicts are the result of either personal differences or a mistaken concept of the function of the PTA.

The most general cause is poor leadership and a lack of cooperative effort, which allows special interest groups to "take the wheel" and to employ "pressure tactics" as a means of attaining their goals. Trouble is likely to ensue whenever the relationship between the board and the parent-teacher group becomes anything other than a cooperative partnership.

It should be emphasized again that the amount of participation in broad community affairs by the voluntary organizations will vary. Each group is free to determine whether its program is directed entirely to its own members, whether it is almost entirely a service to the community, or whether it is some combination of these. Our concern in adult education is to be certain that education is available where needed.

In many communities it has been found profitable to combine forces on the selection, training, and placement of volunteers. Volunteer service, if it is to be satisfying to the giver and useful to the agency and the community, must be worked out carefully. A number of communities have had experience with central volunteer offices, and the process of locating, training, placing and rewarding participants is beginning to take shape. Some steps in the process are:

a. Informing citizens widely about the kinds of opportunities for volunteer service. This involves agencies to get the jobs adequately planned so that volunteers can derive satisfaction from doing them.

b. Interviewing citizens who respond in order to determine their qualifications and to help them understand the opportunities.

c. Providing basic training for the job after a person has made a positive choice regarding a volunteer service.

d. Introducing the volunteer to the job and working with the agency and the volunteer to anticipate some of the possible problems that are likely to arise, such as illness in the volunteer's family, transportation failure, changes within the agency.

e. Providing additional on-the-job training where this is needed.

f. Moving volunteers to positions of added responsibility when they show special abilities and moving them sometimes merely to avoid excess monotony in less interesting jobs.

g. Giving appropriate recognition to volunteers who have good service records.

h. Working with the volunteers to seek constant improvement in the process.

From the wealth of material that is available from various agencies, we have taken two selections. The first one illustrates the way in which one agency has worked with community groups to describe the kinds of work which volunteers can do. We have selected material on one agency; the original source has similar material for a number of the agencies in that community.[10]

Oahu Council of Girl Scouts

The local office is maintained by funds from the Community Chest. The primary purpose of this organization is the development of traits that enrich the personalities of the participants and assist them to become active, informed members of a democratic society. There is a place in Scouting for anyone who wishes to help girls, from seven years of age thru high school, and learn to use, in a practical way what they already know and encourage them to develop new abilities and appreciations, and most of all, to help them develop a healthy attitude towards life and a set of true values. The organization, being composed of over 90% volunteers accomplishes its aims by finding the proper place for all those who choose to work with it.

Qualifications for volunteer work are as follows:

a. Must be over 21 years of age.

b. Must be the type of person who believes in the ideals of democracy.

c. Experience and skills in group work, out of doors, nature, arts and crafts, etc. are assets to the job, but not half as important as a genuine liking of the girls and a willingness to learn with and from the girls.

Duties are as follows:

a. To set aside two hours a week for troop meetings.

b. To set aside an occasional Saturday for hikes, excursions and special events.

c. To be prepared to give the time necessary to prepare for meetings.

d. To take the basic training course that is offered by the organization.

e. To act as a guide for the girls in planning and executing activities.

f. To be an adult friend to the girls.

g. To work with the troop committee and arrange and carry out a satisfactory program.

h. To cooperate with the national and local organization in maintaining high standards within the troop on all phases of activity, health and safety practices, badge requirements, registration procedures and reports that are requested.

Job Classifications:

a. Troop leader. A key position as all other people work to make the leader's experience more satisfactory both to herself and the organization as a whole.

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b. Troop Committee Members. This is a very necessary part of any troop. There are three to five adults who assist leaders of the troop by relieving the leaders of the mechanics of troop organization so that they can devote more time to the development of girls thru the troop program activities.

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c. Transportation and Telephone. A job for someone who must stay at home a great deal. She does all the telephoning for the leader and arranges transportation for special events.

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d. Program. The things girls do as Scouts are called "programs." This position helps the leader find interesting things for the girls to do or finds people who know about the things the girls are interested in. She sees that the troop is represented at Island-wide events.

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e. Special Jobs. There is a place for everyone in Scouting. If you cannot become interested in the above job descriptions, come to the office and talk to the staff. There are many little individual ways in which the staff would appreciate help. Posters and the monthly bulletin cover drawings are important volunteer jobs.

The field of volunteer service offers great opportunities for adult education. In San Francisco the public schools have undertaken to provide services for the Volunteer Bureau in the ways indicated in the next selection.[11]

The Volunteer Bureau of San Francisco is the city's official recruitment and training center for volunteers for accredited agencies where payless help is properly used. The Community Chest helps support the Bureau because most of San Francisco's civic, cultural and welfare agencies get their volunteer workers through the Bureau's system of recruitment and screening. The Adult Education Division of the Public Schools helps support the Bureau because each volunteer is trained to do his or her job, and because volunteer service itself is education in good citizenship. Since its inception six years ago, the Volunteer Bureau has served 172 agencies and 7165 volunteers have passed through its doors.

Volunteer work is a process of adult education. Three aspects of educational activities conducted by the Bureau are: training the volunteer, during his initial interview, in the responsibilities of community service, conducting classes for volunteers and for supervisors of volunteers; and equipping college students for community service.

Some courses are given regularly each year by the Bureau such as a three-week course on community service for Junior League provisional members and for other interested volunteers, a course of five sessions for new members of the Infant Shelter Auxiliary, an orientation session for new members of the Volunteer Bureau Advisory Committee and a series of training sessions throughout the year for volunteers who take part in the program of the Volunteer Bureau.

The Bureau also conducts courses related to special phases of volunteer activities. A Board Member Institute was designed to educate persons on the responsibilities involved in serving on boards and committees. It was attended by 194 individuals representing 67 agencies. A Workshop for Supervisors of Volunteers was the first workshop held in San Francisco for professional staff who have responsibility for training and supervising volunteers. A Workshop on Programs for Senior Citizens was designed to stimulate agency use of volunteers in work with senior citizens. The Bureau also presented a session on volunteer programs to the Group Work and Recreation Council of the Community Chest. This gave the Bureau an opportunity to reach lay and professional representatives of over 50 agencies using volunteers.

Other special training courses were arranged for volunteers who were trained to interview USO hostesses, for volunteers who were trained to serve in the office of the Disaster Council and Corps, and for volunteers who were to serve as receptionists at the literature table for a Mental Health Society conference. In order to reach those interested in volunteer service who work during the day, the Bureau presented a series of evening sessions on the general subject, "Know Your Community."

The program for college students is an increasingly important aspect of the Bureau's educational activities. Sessions for students majoring in Education are held three times each year at San Francisco State College. These sessions are planned by the Volunteer Bureau in consultation with the college and with agencies using volunteers. Since September 1949, when the course began, through February 1952, the Volunteer Bureau has trained 1727 students.

These courses are designed to give students an opportunity to know children outside the classroom and to acquaint students with community service. As most students are on the threshold of citizenship, an introduction to community service is considered vital in shaping patterns of future civic participation. (This program should not be confused with the placement of graduate students in field work for professional social workers accredited by the Graduate School of Social Welfare, University of California.)

Through the use of the Volunteer Bureau, duplication of effort has been eliminated, saving a great amount of work for the college and providing a wide scope of opportunity for the students. The college course, as well as all the other courses described, was planned and coordinated by the certificated staff of the Volunteer Bureau.

The Power of Voluntary Groups

If adult-education workers become somewhat discouraged in facing the tremendous tasks posed by our communities, the antidote is to visit a community

with a good volunteer program and then to think of the potential resources available if the number of volunteers could be still further increased. Among the citizens not now participating can be found a variety of talents. Democracy is the form of government which can give these talents full opportunity to contribute, and the American genius for organizing should make it possible to combine them into effective working units. The thought of what might be accomplished when we are able to expand our volunteer programs should give increased incentive to adult-education leaders. The statement in a handbook for the Montgomery (Pa.) County Federation of Women's Clubs is apt at this point.[12]

The community work done by clubs is a complex job. The need for training is becoming more apparent to thoughtful members. In the early days . . . club members had to learn through trial and error what to do and how to do it. Today they have access to so many sources of knowledge which were not available to club pioneers that they no longer depend on trial and error. A wealth of publications, such as books, pamphlets, brochures, and periodicals are available for study of club methods and for information on various department and division programs of work. The next step forward is to organize this wealth of new ideas and material into leadership training programs.

Another long stride forward will be an increased willingness to change club practices so that they keep pace with the new knowledge being gained. . . . People are unnecessarily slow in the application of scientific knowledge. Club members have it in their power to take the lead in putting this scientific knowledge into practice for the benefit of their community. For example, it would be possible to eliminate entirely smallpox and diphtheria and greatly reduce the incidence of tuberculosis if members would put the full force of their influence behind the campaign to end these plagues. Or, if they did their part in interpreting the principles of mental health until they become a part of people's everyday thought and living, they would be doing much toward preventing mental illness, which today is steadily increasing. Future club members will perceive in all this one of their great opportunities to be of service.

There are indications that the future will see greater cooperation between organizations, more frequent joining of hands for mutual advancement and carrying-out of community projects. Clubs will remain separate, as now, in the specific functions that pertain to them alone, but will unite with other local organizations in large action programs which no one group working by itself could hope to accomplish.

It seems probable, also, that as the newer and more effective methods of work become common in clubs, a larger number of persons will take a real part in the activities of the program. They will cease to be merely listeners and spectators. If this happens, it should mean a great upsurge of interest in the clubs. True

interest is kept alive when members are occupied with meeting real problems and overcoming real difficulties. Sitting on the sidelines is not nearly so interesting as wholeheartedly putting gifts and talents to work.

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As these changes occur, more and more persons will want to participate in this wider movement of thought, planning and implementation. Out of the new knowledge and vision gained through club membership will appear new opportunities for progress and usefulness to the community. Members will be inspired by the common purpose of raising the standards of living, promoting physical and mental health, enlarging the concepts of social justice and extending public education for all of the children of all of the people. They will have provided a foundation on which to build an ennobling future.

As the technical skill of our society grows, each of us has more time outside of the hours he spends in paid work. This time will be distributed among a variety of activities, but certainly a major one should be that of improving our communities. As was pointed out above, this service is the lifeblood of democracy. It gives the giver the satisfaction of sharing in the building; joined with the services of his fellows, it provides an ever richer way of life.

Paul Essert has suggested that community service is as simple as one plus one. If each citizen would volunteer a minimum of one hour of service and one hour of training for that service each week, we would soon have a tremendous budget of community power. In a small community of 2000 adults this would amount to 100,000 hours a year of volunteer action and the same amount of educational time. At a rate of $1.50 an hour, this action time is worth $150,000. For a city of 30,000, this volunteer service would amount to $2,250,000. In ten years, think what this could mean.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

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WORKERS' EDUCATION is an important part of the current adult education picture, and it will be an increasingly important part in the years to come. At the local and national levels there is growing awareness in the unions of the need for education and for more adequate provision for leadership in securing it. Universities are expanding their services to the unions. National organizations make available a variety of help for the educational efforts of the unions—materials, training, consultants.

The Range of Activities in Workers' Education

What kind of activities go on in workers' education? Visits to union groups across the country would reveal the same range as in other parts of the adult-education picture. Many unions would have nothing that could be designated as educational. Many would have some small beginnings, such as helping one or two members attend a class or a workshop in union leadership methods or a small group of the members getting together for a few meetings on bargaining procedures. At the top of the scale would be the extensive variety of activities utilized by a considerable percentage of the membership as illustrated by the program of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Hilda Smith has described something of the flavor of these varied endeavors;[1]

To look in on a workers' education classroom is to observe a cross section of American industry. In the larger industrial centers there are often skilled workers from the building trades, or from transportation, together with men and women from the clothing industry. Here is a Scotch carpenter who has had long years of experience, struggling valiantly to hold his own in a discussion of unemployment problems. A vivid, dark-haired Italian girl, a milliner, is seated next him, in a low voice adding a few impressions of her own experience in looking for a job. In the next room a little group of garment workers is clustered around a big relief map of the United States, which they themselves have made. "I never had an idea of what America looked like before," one of them remarks.

Change the picture to a Southern industrial village, where textile and tobacco workers have gathered for an evening class. They have come early, these tall, lean men and women, in order to gather wood and build the fire in the stove, to take the chill off the little rural schoolroom. Here is a cotton mill worker, a thin young woman with bent shoulders. Before the coming of the codes she worked eleven hours on a night shift in her mill. During the operation of the N.R.A., getting off after an eight hour day, she revels in the chance to go to school at night, a privilege she never enjoyed before. What does she want to learn? She asks her teacher for some book on labor history, for she has recently joined a union and is eager to learn more of the organization. In one corner, where there is a blackboard, the teacher is surrounded by a group of tall young men in overalls, almost illiterate, who are combining the study of English with the discussion of their own economic problems. "Wages" is written in large letters on the blackboard, and the English lesson turns into economics as these young American-born workers of old American stock, try to trace the factors in the wage situation as they know it, getting practice in grammar and spelling as they do so.

Now it is a Thursday afternoon, in a mid-western city, and a dozen domestic workers are meeting in a Y.W.C.A. clubroom. It is their afternoon off, and turning away from the movies or soda fountains, these women are coming to school. Here the discussion turns on the most urgent problems of the domestic worker, together with those of her employer. Questioned as to their own work, the sense of inferiority often found among these women is apparent. "I am only a cook," says one. "I'm only a laundress," says another. To become aware of the importance of all workers in the social structure, and to know that many other women, and the government itself, is concerned with their conditions of work is for these women an illuminating experience.

Up in the mountains of Pennsylvania, a group of young miners decided they would like to know something of the world around them, and of the physical universe. A science teacher offered his time, but no place for a science class could be found. Finally one young worker discovered an old garage, out of repair, at the end of a long alley. Possession was granted by the owner, and the gang went to work. Gathered here after their shift in the coal mine, these young workers are

studying charts which show the natural resources of America, and the ups-and-downs of the coal industry. Simple laboratory equipment has been made, and the miners, still rather grimy from their day's work, are experimenting with oxygen and examining a model of a hydraulic engine.

Look in at the shoe workers' union headquarters where a workers' class is meeting, and you will see labor drama in the making. Episodes from the mill, from the street, or the union meeting are acted with spontaneous enthusiasm and criticized by the shoe workers in the audience. Gradually the scenes assume the proportions of drama and are given with at least some knowledge of dramatic values.

Sometimes the public school is not available to workers' education, and no settlement, club or union headquarters is available. In such a case, as in one Southern State, teachers and workers must practice ingenuity. One group, unsuccessful in finding a meeting place for classes, took to the road in an old automobile. When they found a secluded spot with a bit of woods, they stopped and set up their classroom around the car. The blackboard strapped to the rear was propped against a tree. Teacher and students sat on the running board or on the ground. Discussion started, taking up workers' education itself as the topic of the evening. Pioneers in education, these young men and women from the cotton field and the mill know what it means to struggle for learning; know what it means to get down to the facts, in education and in life.

Characteristic of all these groups is their eagerness to learn. Workers walk miles to attend classes, or go without supper to supply the necessary carfare. As they sit around the table in the class, or gather in a social science workshop, their faces are alight with interest. American-born workers and foreign-born, trade unionists, unorganized workers, or members of an Unemployed Union, they are alike in their desire to discover more of the world around them; to understand what is happening in their own lives; to catch some glimpse of what might happen in the future in their struggle to gain economic security for themselves and their children. To the teacher of the workers' class, it is the spirit of the worker-student which gives the instructor new courage and hope. The workers themselves are instilled with the feeling that instruction will not end with the classroom; that what they learn will be of use in meeting the urgent problems of their own existence, and in bringing about a better economic world for all.

We can get a more comprehensive overview of the program from Mark Starr's summary of the findings of a survey of union education, conducted for the Fund for Adult Education. Requests for information regarding "current and immediate future programs" were sent to labor unions; to labor-education bodies such as American Labor Education Service (ALES), the AFL Workers' Education Bureau (WEB), and the CIO Education and Research Department; and to universities. From the results obtained Starr presents the following picture:[2]

While the major share of the activities is borne by the unions themselves, aided by the WEB and CIO Education and Research Department, a number of the programs are carried on by, or in cooperation with the American Labor Education Service and through industrial relations courses in certain university departments and schools, and their extension divisions. There are also increased cooperative relations with those public libraries interested in services to labor groups and with organizations which work with labor in the anti-discrimination field, such as the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Labor Service, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the National Urban League.

The educational programs surveyed include a rich variety of activities:

Week-end institutes and conferences;

Workers' evening classes, whether weekly for several weeks or months or year-round or in short concentrated blocks of consecutive evenings;

One- and two-week resident full-time training institutes and labor schools, as well as a new and significant one-year program of whole time study leading to employment by the union upon successful completion of the theoretical and practical work;

Use of films and filmstrips and other audio and visual aids;

Field trips;

Participation in community projects;

and the educational aspect of such regular union activities as membership meetings, shop steward sessions, the union paper, and the work of union committees both inside and outside the plant.

While a great deal of this educational work is concerned with training of members, new and old, and of local leadership for immediate union service, such training often involved education in background material such as labor history, economics, and labor-management relations. In addition, the survey found promising educational efforts carried on in a variety of fields with wide social implications—such as national and international affairs, combatting discrimination, and promoting participation in community affairs.

Starr then analyzes the content of the programs reported in terms of three areas of communication: (1) the area of the union itself, (2) the area of the community at local, state, and national level, and (3) the area of international affairs. The illustrations he provides in these three areas will make specific the general categories given above. In these illustrations the reader should note the nature of the educational activity, the resource agencies, and the kinds of problems that arise in relating union activities to the total adult-education picture.[3]

(1) Internal Union Communication and Self Education

The first of these, education for more effective participation within the union, is clearly the major emphasis of most of the union education programs carried on at this time. Obviously, in a well run union its very operation, its grievance settlement procedure, the making of its contracts, the running of its meetings, its journal and conventions, are basic and valuable learning-by-doing education for the participating members. Workers' education makes this a more conscious and enriching effort. The summaries show the current extensive need for this type of effort which has come about with the great increase in union membership from about 3 to 15 million since 1933. The union journal especially shows this change, and the information given is by no means confined to the union's own activities.

New members' classes, training of shop stewards and union officers are prominent in all the courses, institutes, and schools run by the unions and by the universities active in the field. Cornell and Rutgers Universities, for example, in their extension classes deal with specific and immediate problems of National Labor Relations Board elections and the making of contracts. The same applied to full-time study carried on through longer periods, such as the Trade Union Fellowship training program for three months' resident study at Harvard, and the part-time nine-month training project for local union presidents and top level union officers run by the University of Chicago. In the union with the longest record, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the educational work ranges from teaching English to new members recently from Puerto Rico, and providing varied and extensive cultural and social opportunities, all the way to officers' qualification courses for members wishing to run for full-time office. Most recently, the ILGWU has established a full-time study program in a twelve-month training institute, with final eligibility for elective office where necessary, and immediate appointment upon completion of training. . . .

The changing role of the unions is well indicated by the time-and-motion and job evaluation courses noted by our survey in institutes and classes. Thereby communication between the labor union and management is improved. To the extent that cooperation between labor and management increases, the joint study of industrial relations will increase. Individual courses of this kind, and classes in industrial relations, not mentioned in our survey because they are not specifically directed to trade unions, are to be increasingly found in the curricula and special institutes at many of our colleges. . . .

(2) Integration with the Community

The second type of communication—strengthening the relationships between the union and the community—has been given special encouragement through the work of the CIO Community Service Committee, and in both the AFL and

the CIO by the newly awakened interest in political action and citizenship on the local as well as the national level. . . .

The growing interest of the union in serving the union member in his out-plant problems (as an individual person, as a member of a family group, and as a citizen) as well as his on-the-job problems, is significant and makes for the best kind of public relations for the labor unions.

The counselling activity carried on by the trade unions is well expressed in a mimeo guide issued by the Ohio CIO Council, "Talking with Workers About Their Problems." Obviously the advice given in this guide has grown out of the definite need of the workers to know more about the facilities of the local social work and other similar agencies. A study of the institutes run in the Labor Program at Rutgers shows a similar trend. . . .

Items noted in our survey include: cooperation with other agencies in campaigns against polio, heart disease, cancer, arthritis, and industrial accidents; courses in mental health and psychology; and health education carried on in conjunction with many health centers and clinics of the auto workers, men's and women's clothing workers, electrical workers, etc. . . .

Workers' education has thus far not integrated the activity of the unions into the life of the community as well as it might have done. It needs to train more counsellors for *out-plant* problems, who will serve when necessary as referral agents for social work and community agencies. In addition to such immediate welfare service, workers' education should do more to interest union members generally in the basic principles of good government. This would in effect be applied civics for adults and would aim in time to raise the present low standard of political life, to remove the civic corruption which has aroused justified alarm in recent times and to secure more and better participation in political and community affairs. A body such as the National Civil Service League could give valuable *technical* guidance in setting up programs and there are a large number of groups, such as the non-partisan League of Women Voters, which would gladly cooperate. The Labor League for Political Education, AFL, and the Political Action Committee, CIO, could deepen and enrich the education content of their activity on a year-round basis.

(3) International Understanding: World Integration

While the main emphasis of union education, particularly in the unions with new or less developed programs, is understandably on union matters or local problems, there is a growing desire for a better understanding of international affairs.

The terrible pressures of hot and cold wars, the extensive role that labor personnel plays in the ECA and other agencies abroad, the activity of the U.S. Department of Labor, and the appointment of 30 labor attachés by the Department of State, the effect of visiting labor teams from abroad, the part that both

AFL and CIO are playing in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—these are some of the obvious factors that have brought international affairs closer to union members. The educational problem is a great one: how to develop, out of this awareness of confused and tragic events, an understanding of complex issues, a sense of human brotherhood and world community transcending national boundaries.

Many beginnings are being made. A great many of the labor institutes include one or more seminars dealing with European problems, the crisis in the Far East, labor's role in the world scene, etc. At least three union bodies—ILGWU (AFL), Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO), and the Michigan State CIO Council—and one university (Harvard's Trade Union Program) report classes in international problems and labor. The current institutes of the CIO unions have used a manual dealing with international problems specially prepared by the CIO Education and Research Department. We received many reports of single sessions, lectures (for example, "Races and Religions of the World" and "World Citizenship"), film showings, etc. emphasizing world affairs; a number of unions celebrated United Nations Week; the ILGWU arranged trips to UN sessions; many unions, both AFL and CIO, have distributed relevant pamphlets, leaflets, and posters put out by governmental and other organizations, and have given more space to international articles as well as news items in their union papers. Correspondence among workers here and abroad, and the sending of food packages and needed equipment to labor groups abroad have educational implications and can be developed further.

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Another phase of this program is the short-term participation of union members in international labor gatherings, including summer schools, institutes, educational conferences and meetings run by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, the International Labor Organization, UNESCO, and other United Nations agencies.

Trade unions are increasingly called upon to provide personnel to serve abroad both as representative of their own labor bodies, and in relation to such government agencies as ECA, the ECA Technical Assistance program, and the State Department. The direct activity of organized labor, particularly that of the AFL, in the fight for free trade unions in undeveloped areas creates increased need for personnel. Therefore workers' education must increasingly take on the responsibility of preparing union members for these new responsibilities.

While reports received show that the unions are increasingly devoting space in their educational programs and union newspapers to international problems, they are far from utilizing as well as they might the publications and facilities of both government and private agencies. The ALEA Midwest Conference on International Affairs (1951), for example, showed that the wealth of material and per-

sonnel available for educating union members about the Marshall Plan, the economic consequences of the Atlantic Pact, and similar issues could have been more effectively used if more widely known in union circles.

Workers' education is a comparatively new part of the organized adult-education program. Ernest E. Schwarztrauber mentions the fact that the Wisconsin Federation of Labor introduced a resolution in 1905 urging activities in workers' education but it was not until the founding of the Milwaukee Workers' College in 1922 that anything came of it. The Workers' Education Bureau had been established in 1921, and in 1924 the AFL recommended a levy on members to help support its activities. The Woman's Trade Union League likewise had, since early in the century, included education as one of its purposes but it was not until 1921 that Bryn Mawr, with the advice of the League, set up its Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Hilda Smith stresses this point in the article from which we quoted earlier:[4]

Workers' Education a Pioneer Movement

Workers' education in the United States is comparatively new. We have no such intensive and extensive projects as have been developed in England, through the tutorial classes; in the Scandinavian countries, through the fifty-year old movement for resident folk high schools, where people from farms and factories can attend with the help of government funds; or in Russia, where it is taken for granted that workers will educate themselves through systematic attendance in classes. Starting as an outgrowth of the labor movement in America, through the interest of local unions and State Federations of Labor, workers' education has its roots in the labor movement in this and other countries, and must always be thought of in relation to the educational needs of a labor movement. As developed through various organizations in this country, it now includes local evening classes under the auspices of trade unions, independent committees, and various political parties; a group of resident schools, some with their own buildings, others borrowing empty college or university buildings, and conducting classes on a college campus. Short institutes, week-end schools, conferences and teachers training projects, coordinating agencies such as the Workers Education Bureau of America and the Affiliated Schools for Workers have all played their part in the development of workers' education as it is interpreted in this country. Whatever workers' education may be, it is safe to say that this new movement in education is dynamic, full of vitality, developing rapidly to meet urgent needs.

The development of workers' education is, of course, an integral part of the development of the organized labor movement. Theodore Brameld, in his preface to *Workers' Education in the United States*, stresses the way in which the forces in our democratic society have created the conditions for the growth of education for the workers.[5]

The purpose of this volume may better be understood by a statement from each of two brilliant Englishmen. One of the necessary conditions to the development of democracy, according to Harold Laski, was this:

> Popular ignorance had to be dispelled, partly by the growth of literacy and partly by the evolution of a consciousness of power in the masses which would enable them to know both what they wanted and how to organize for its attainment. Largely this was the outcome of nineteenth-century development. Popular education slowly achieved the first, and economic organization, especially in the form of trade unionism, did most to secure the second.

The other statement is from Lancelot Hogben:

> At all great turning-points in the history of our social culture the recognition of a new social need has been the signal for the birth of a new science and the birth of a new science has had the backing of a popular movement outside the established universities. Turning-points in cultural history are not times when men seek culture for the passive satisfaction of secondhand living. They are times when men recognize that knowledge brings the power to shape human destiny. In the present struggle between Dictatorship and Democracy the future of Democracy may once more depend on forging new instruments of culture. As I see it there is a worthier task for an organization like the W.E.A. (Workers' Education Association) than bringing the culture of the universities to the humblest worker. It can help to salvage Democracy by becoming the instrument of a *new* social culture. By fearless criticism of the shortcomings of our universities it can strengthen the hands of those who . . . realize what a university could be if it undertook the tasks worthy of its opportunities.

T. R. Adam stresses this same point in *The Workers' Road to Learning*:[6]

In the early nineteen twenties . . . there was apparent a new interest and vitality in opportunities for continued education outside the formal institutions of higher learning. It was, according to Charles A. Beard, a period "of intellectual ferment" in which "the nation was turning fiercely upon itself, inquiring whether under the clatter of the machine age there was prophetic meaning not yet divined." Within many local trade unions, educational centers had been established as a part of this quest for wisdom which was sweeping the country. It was in recognition of that interest that the A.F. of L. "set the seal of its official approval

upon this popular movement among the rank and file, by recommending in 1924 a levy on members to promote such experiments under the general guidance of the Workers Education Bureau."

Workers' Education and the Universities

The forces which helped to develop the organized labor movement in Great Britain and the United States were sympathetically interpreted by a number of students of society in the colleges and universities. These persons, in cooperation with some of the leaders within labor, were influential in providing educational opportunities for workers, using in various ways the resources of the institutions of higher education. The majority of these institutions did not respond, but it is significant that workers' education, like agricultural education, has been more closely related to the universities than to any other source of educational assistance. Libraries and public schools have helped to some extent, but the bulk of the load has been carried by the unions themselves and by certain universities.

One of the first and most successful of the university efforts to work with labor was the University of Wisconsin School for Workers. In writing the story of its first twenty-five years, Ernest E. Schwarztrauber describes the objectives of its program as follows:[7]

As an introduction to the discussion of the School's objectives, it may be a clarifying device to indicate the objectives of education in some other selected University departments. The School of Agriculture concerns itself with the farmers' needs in combating plant diseases, in fostering improved methods in soil conservation, in developing better livestock and disease resistant wheat, corn, tobacco and the like. The School of Commerce provides for institutes of varying lengths, winter and summer, to industrial groups, intended to aid businessmen in the solution of their individual and collective problems. But whether the problems are those of farmers or of businessmen, they are all related ultimately to one vital problem—how a going concern can dispose of its goods and services at a fair price—for unless it can do that it ultimately fails.

Now the chief problem of workers parallels exactly that of a going farm or business concern. The worker, like the farmer or the employer, seeks to sell his product at a fair price. But the only product he has to sell is his labor—that and that alone. Moreover, it is highly perishable. If it not sold today it is gone forever. He cannot store it up and wait for a better market. And if he cannot sell it he must use his savings, if any, or become dependent on others more fortunate than himself. Unlike the employer, however, the worker cannot effectively sell his product in competition with other individuals like himself, for as an individual seller he is helpless. But if that same worker goes to his employer as a chosen

representative of a thousand workers, he will probably meet with a considerable degree of success. At least he speaks as a man to a man, and with power matching —to some extent, at least—the power before him.

It is at this point of contact that the worker, acting in his group relationship with his employer, needs in the first instance the educational services that the School for Workers can render. Collectively, workers can hope to sell their product, labor, at a fair price. Even here they may fail in their objective. The School for Workers functions in such situations by helping workers to achieve an intelligent and informed approach to their problems as a basis for collective bargaining. It offers them a way of efficient and judicious use of their collective power. In other words, the School for Workers does for the workers what the School of Commerce does for the business man and the School of Agriculture for the farmer in their extension activities—it meets his educational requirements at the point of most vital need.

The function, then, of the School for Workers, is first the implementation of organized labor in its aspirations toward the substitution of industrial government for industrial warfare. But in that primary function are implicit others of equal if not ultimately greater importance. One of these is to help organized labor come to recognize that its place in our industrial society must become an ever growing one. Labor must take its place in every aspect of modern economic and social life. In the community, workers must learn to function as members of city councils, school boards and every other activity in which citizens are engaged. In the state and nation, workers have the right and must assume the responsibilities of a working citizenship. Workers must become, therefore, completely integrated into the working bodies, national and international, that effect direction of world affairs. These citizenship relations have to date been largely the monopoly function of middle and upper class members of society. This situation cannot continue if democracy is to grow in meaning and if it is to endure as the working force in a dynamic social order. Hence, the School for Workers raises its sights to a program as vital as life itself for there is no real life for the individuals of any society unless each individual in it is given a place of dignity and respect equal to any other.

The cooperation of labor and the universities has always been somewhat uneasy, punctuated occasionally by major crises. Irvine Kerrison, in discussing this problem, describes the difficulties on both sides:[8]

Institutions of higher learning which accept the functional approach to workers' education view their work with labor groups as the fruit of a cooperative union-university partnership in education, and have agreed to certain conditions of partnership.

Labor often asks: Can workers' education, when financed from non-labor sources, be guarded from dilution into something innocuous and sterile? And higher education turns this question around and asks: Can workers' education, when entirely labor's operation, escape the atrophy and narrowness which so often is the result of inbreeding? The unions and universities which accept the functional approach have answered these questions to each other's satisfaction.

They have come to the conclusion that the twin dangers of dilution and bias can be avoided if the possibility of their presence in both university-conducted and labor-conducted workers' education is recognized. They agree that, once this possibility is recognized, administrative safeguards can be devised against both dangers.

Ernest Schwarztrauber states that democratic representation in workers' education policy-making, an informed citizenry, and capable direction can provide positive administrative safeguards against biased or poor administration of workers' education programs. Survey and experience support his statement.

State-financed programs must give workers a definite voice in policy-making. Labor people should have seats both on boards of trustees of colleges and universities and on advisory councils to workers' education programs conducted by universities. Labor and the university concerned should agree on such trustee and advisory council representatives. Faculty and students in the workers' education division should be consulted and invited to participate in policy-making, contributing out of their experience and desires to what finally might be decided. Labor-financed programs must give democratically selected representatives of the rank and file a voice in the administration of program.

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Colleges and universities in workers' education will have to face the fact that the blood pressures of conservative business and industrial leaders, timid trustees and sheltered pedagogues will go up in direct ratio to the broadness of the program offered. To a broad workers' education program, controversies and violent arguments are indispensable appurtenances. Economic heresies are heatedly discussed, industry's motives and incentives are openly questioned, and serious proposals for social change made. Out of all this comes not merely the teaching of skills but broader and better understanding of social, political and economic problems facing democracy. Discussion of these things is a part of the role of a university in its community. As our colleges and universities expand and extend broad workers' education programs, democracy will take on greater reality and new vitality.

It is important for democracy that a common ground be discovered and that more services not only of universities but also of public schools, libraries, state and federal departments, and other agencies be made available to make workers'

education the vital force it must be in the total program. The point we are making here is the same one made in other chapters: all persons interested in adult education have a stake in all parts of the program. Although those in the colleges and in the unions who are primarily engaged in workers' education have especial responsibilities, all of us must support their efforts and help to ensure a proper perspective relative to the other parts of the community program.

A number of universities are endeavoring to achieve a balance by working out programs in which attention is given to the needs of labor, management, and the public. Imaginatively conceived, this approach has promise, but there is the possibility that it might spread limited resources thin and fail to achieve anything of significance. There is no hiding the fact that the role of organized labor is a controversial issue to many persons; all of us in adult education, therefore, have the responsibility of creating a better understanding on both sides.

Where the tension factors are as great as they are here, the importance of the teacher is readily apparent. The discussions of this point which we present here are related to the experiences in workers' education, but the ideas are relevant in all areas of adult education.

Schwarztrauber[9] begins with the generally accepted premise that a good teacher knows the needs and interests of his students. He then shows the need for skills in knowing what to do in relation to these needs and interests. The good teacher will have both—a point which raises problems for training teachers. This is one of the areas of especial concern in the universities giving attention to workers' education.

A teacher who is to serve workers in their group and individual needs must of necessity know those needs intimately. The ideal is that he get his knowledge first hand, that is, by practical experience as a worker. Trade union leadership is inclined to believe that the best teachers are those who have grown up in the ranks of labor, and that such persons alone can fully understand and meet the needs of workers. Some go so far as to declare that a teacher educated in the public schools and universities becomes so intellectualized and thereby so insulated that he cannot, even if he would, maintain vital contacts and make any contributions to workers.

It is true that actual work with one's hands in a factory or mine or in the field is a most desirable asset. Not only does such experience supply the practical technical knowledge needed, but it supplies also a psychological approach to the job which cannot possibly be acquired otherwise. The fear of unemployment, for example, the sense of insecurity, the feeling of helplessness, in the individual whose only possessions are his hands and his skills—these inner experiences cannot be delivered and transmitted to comfortable individuals in the classroom. They

come only to workers as workers. But to argue that one cannot be a teacher of workers unless he has been a worker is to argue that one cannot, for instance, teach banking unless he has been a banker, nor business management unless he has been the manager of a corporation or business of some sort. The fact is that were trade unions to apply that criterion and reject all teachers except those trained in "the school of hard knocks," their educational activities would suffer as a result. In actual experience, when unions set up their own formal education program they find themselves forced to turn to the public schools and to the universities for instructional services. This was true in Wisconsin during the years when labor conducted its own local education program. It is still largely true today where organized labor maintains its own classes.

The point at which the teacher drawn from labor's ranks so often falls down as a teacher is in his lack of a broad and deep educational background. There are self-made men in labor's ranks as there are in the employers' ranks, but big gaps in the final product are quite as likely to be found in the one as in the other. Experience in Wisconsin has been that persons intimately acquainted with immediate trade union problems and needs often lack either the teaching techniques required or else the broad knowledge in allied fields which gives poise and balance in teaching. To this last statement objection has been raised in some quarters. Many labor leaders and others engaged in the field of workers' education are suspicious of the so-called broadly educated person of "poise and balance." They have reasons growing out of experience for such suspicions, particularly if the poise and balance are the products of study in some ivory tower. But when the well-prepared person at the same time keeps in touch with workers and their problems, he has the possibilities for becoming a good teacher of workers.

Irvine Kerrison, drawing on the experience of a conference on the problem, breaks down the characteristics of a good teacher into seven points and emphasizes the fact that the teacher always has a responsibility both to his student and to society.[10]

At a conference on workers' education held at Cornell University in February, 1946, the following qualifications, listed in the order of their importance, were accepted as essential for university people responsible for a program of workers' education:

1. Union experience of such nature as to demonstrate sympathy for the social ideals of the labor movement and a knowledge of the structure and functioning of the labor movement.
2. Participation in some form of workers' education activities, especially in program development, and, if possible, administration.

3. A record of success in group activity, including ability to cooperate with others.
4. Knowledge of the field of workers' education.
5. Knowledge of and ability in group work and educational processes as applied to workers' education.
6. Knowledge of and experience with community organizations and governmental agencies as related to their helpfulness as resources in a workers' education program.
7. Acceptability to people of known reputation in the field of workers' education.

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Current college and university workers' education programs most acceptable to the labor movement are those which use labor people on their teaching staffs. Programs which use fully qualified teachers who happen to be employed full-time in the labor movement give tangible evidence of their belief that a class leader ought to be genuinely and fundamentally sympathetic with the problems and interests of the people in his class.

The good workers' education teacher faces a dual responsibility! He is responsible to the worker and to society as a whole. The first responsibility demands qualifications which persons employed in the labor movement, for obvious reasons, most adequately can present. The second is a general responsibility which all qualified teachers can satisfy and which links the workers' education teacher to all true teachers in every field.

Other Resources — ALES, WEB, and CIO Department of Education and Research

Although institutions of higher education are very important in the development of workers' education and should, as we stressed, be urged and aided to do still more, they are only a part of the total picture.

Labor itself has provided leadership, both in individual unions, such as ILGWU, Textile Workers of America, and Packinghouse Workers of America, and through organizations whose services are available to groups of unions or to individual unions. The Workers Education Bureau, attached to the AFL, is responsible for helping AFL unions which desire assistance. Similarly, the CIO Department of Education and Research provides services for CIO unions. The American Labor Education Service works with all groups of organized labor.

The following description of the WEB is based on materials supplied by John D. Connors, Director.[11]

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Workers Education Bureau serves the Federation as a clearing house of information and a coordinating agency in the field of labor education and related activities. Its activities include planning nation-wide and state-wide programs, local classes and study groups, lecture courses, forums, advice on setting up scholarship award programs, developing public relations programs, assistance in securing the inclusion of courses on labor in the public school curriculum, gaining the cooperation of public libraries, furnishing speakers, aiding on radio and television programs, and advising on and distributing labor films. In addition it responds increasingly to requests for information, advice, and materials which come from colleges and universities, public school administrators and teachers, government agencies, libraries, and other community organizations.

The Bureau has during the year held two conferences of education directors of national and international unions and state federations of labor. . . .

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During the past year our affiliated unions have made considerable progress in the use of movies and filmstrips, and it is encouraging to note that they are entering into the field of film production at an accelerated rate. . . .

To service this growing interest in the use of audio-visual materials, the Bureau maintains a film library which includes not only films produced by A.F.L. unions but also those produced by governmental and other agencies on such topics as discrimination, world affairs, foreign trade, the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, labor-management relations, social security, health and welfare, and political action. In addition to furnishing films and filmstrips for showing by A.F.L. organizations, the Bureau also aids them in purchasing projectors, screens, recorders, etc., at substantial discounts.

The Workers Education Bureau News Letter, published monthly, surveys current workers' education projects among A.F.L. affiliates and universities. It also reviews and annotates new films, books, and pamphlets. A completely revised and enlarged edition of the Bureau's bibliography *Labor's Library* is out this fall. During the past year the annual supplement *Labor and Education in 1951* was published, as well as the 15th printing of its parliamentary procedure manual *How to Run a Union Meeting* and the sixth of its *Shop Steward's Manual*.

In line with the Federation's expanding program of encouraging the growth of the free trade union movement throughout the world, the Bureau continues its cooperation with the educational activities of the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Federation of Workers' Education Associations. Considerable time has been spent in assisting MSA, the State Department, the Department of Labor, and other governmental agencies in their programs of international exchange of workers and information. The Bureau is cooperating with the State Department in the production of a series of filmstrips to be used by workers' organizations

abroad, particularly in Asia, to show workers the advantages of free democratic trade unions and how they can help workers to solve their economic problems. . . .

During the past year the Federation has cooperated with the Inter-University Labor Education Committee, which was established to introduce such subjects as world affairs, community participation, and economic understanding into educational programs for union officers and members which are already in operation, and to assist labor leaders in starting and carrying on additional educational programs within their own organizations. . . .

The notes on the CIO Department of Education and Research come from material supplied by George T. Guernsey, Associate Director in charge of education. The report indicates that the Education Division during the year 1951-1952 stressed the following activities among others.[12]

(1) International understanding was emphasized through the use of films, pamphlets, posters and classes in its one-week institutes. The department sponsored a special two-week international affairs seminar at Storrs, Connecticut, and a three-week overseas program in Denmark, Norway and Sweden for 25 CIO local union officers;

(2) New ground in CIO's one-week institute program was broken in the New England, Southern and far Northwest areas;

(3) The Department of Education and Research cooperated with the American Labor Education Service and the Inter-University Labor Education Committee in helping them to develop programs in the field of workers' education financed by grants from the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation. The department also worked closely during the past year with the Labor-International Affairs Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

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CIO-Danish Workshop

Perhaps the most noteworthy project sponsored by the Education Division in cooperation with the International Affairs Committee was the labor education workshop in Denmark. Twenty-five local union leaders were sent to Denmark, Norway and Sweden for a three-week trip at a total cost to each of $300, including transportation by air from New York City overseas and return.

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Guide for Work with Universities

The CIO is firmly committed to the following policies in this field: (1) the trade union movement must plan and direct its own program, (2) it must criti-

cally examine resources made available to it in developing its education program, (3) in the use of study materials or teaching personnel, the trade union movement must carefully select the material and the teachers which will help to build an understanding of the programs and policies of the trade union movement and help it make its contribution to building a democratic nation and a democratic world, (4) because many universities have had no experience in the field of labor education and many times have developed labor-management institutes as a substitute for labor extension work, the CIO feels that all universities in this field should establish labor advisory committees which will bring to the program the background and understanding of experienced labor educators, and (5) in using university programs, the CIO feels that only those that are open to all CIO members, regardless of race, creed or color, should be used.

The basic purpose of an educational program is to build a strong, democratic labor movement in the United States. Any program must be measured by its success in doing this.

Film Work Expands

The CIO Education Division sponsored a two-day experimental film conference in March 1952 at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where local unions using films were able to come together for training in leading discussions with the use of films. . . .

The CIO Film Division now has 110 titles with 225 prints in its film rental library. . . .

Pamphlets and Books Published

The department has continued to publish pamphlets including its new primer pamphlet "CIO Says The Odds Are Up To You," a popular pamphlet on problems of international affairs. . . .

New Education Manual

A new 1952-53 Education Manual was prepared by the Education Division, and has been widely praised by leaders in the field of workers' education. It consists of materials which are helpful to union officials interested in developing an educational program. Divided into seven sections, the manual contains outlines for discussion of many of the legislative problems, voting records of Congressmen, background on court decisions in the field of civil rights and civil liberties, methods of improving our schools, as well as suggestions for carrying CIO's program to the grass roots. In each section are a list of films and pamphlets bearing on the subject as well as organizations from which additional material may be secured.

The following statement on the ALES is taken from the *Union Education Survey*.[13]

THE WORK OF AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE

American Labor Education Service is what might be considered a direction-finding agency. For a period of 25 years it has discovered and fostered significant developments in workers' education—in developing study materials for adult workers, in establishing resident schools, in research and experimentation in educational method, and in conducting pilot projects for combatting discrimination through union education.

Today ALES is putting more stress on inter-group relationships in the international field. . . .

. . . Conferences in this country sponsored by ALES have dealt with various aspects of the international scene and early in 1951 a Midwest Conference brought together leaders from 23 international unions to study the problem of how to make international problems "come alive" for union members.

As part of its general program in inter-group relations, ALES has worked to further cooperation between farmers and workers through education. A series of Farmers' and Workers' Education Conferences has brought together labor and liberal farmers' and cooperative groups, and out of their discussions is developing a manual of educational activities to promote improved farmer-labor understanding of mutual problems in local communities.

Another phase of its work is the relation of white collar workers with other wage earners. It sponsors a resident labor school, White Collar Workshop, set up especially for office workers, postal clerks, teachers, librarians, social workers, and government workers. . . .

Certain long-term functions . . . include advisory service to trade unions and other organizations through field trips to initiate activities and advise local groups as well as through suggestions by correspondence; national conferences for coordination of work and to provide a forum for those professionally engaged in workers' education; sectional and local conferences to stimulate new activity or focus attention on special problems; preparation of labor education materials including special reports and bibliographical materials; informational and clearing house activities such as a teachers' registry and educational counselling and consultants' services for individuals interested in the workers' education field. . . .

. . . Through an annual conference of teachers and leaders in workers' education, which brings together some 200 educational representatives of unions, universities, and community agencies, ALES provides a meeting ground for those professionally engaged in workers' education.

. . . As a direction-finding organization, ALES is working continuously on the study and evaluation of workers' education programs, helping to integrate

new trends and projects in the field with established values based on experience, and acting as liaison and interpreter among labor, university, government, and community organizations.

What Lies Ahead in Workers' Education?

The future of workers' education is the future of organized labor, and the future of organized labor is the future of democracy. In our increasingly interdependent society we move ahead only through cooperation. There will, of course, be tests of strength in order to clarify issues and determine directions—these are an integral part of the democratic process. But the fundamental approach must be positive. It cannot be one of eternal opposition. This means that all adult educators, no matter what their direct connection with organized programs may be, must understand the place of the worker in modern world society.

The excerpts cited below from three statements regarding the basic role and status of organized labor cannot adequately cover the tremendous area that labor presents, but they can encourage further study by the reader.

Ernest E. Schwarztrauber[14] presents the basic logic for accepting the organized labor movement as a part of modern society. For many this may seem unnecessary, but there are still numerous persons in key positions who have reservations regarding it.

The School for Workers assumes, as a first premise, the trade union movement as an accepted institution in modern industrial society, despite threatening situations facing it at times. In America there is general approval in theory of workers' right to organize and to bargain collectively, but there exists in fact actual resistance to the practice of that right. Nevertheless, in theory and partially in practice, trade unionism has become woven into the fabric of American institutional life. And, barring a catastrophe such as befell workers in totalitarian societies, and continues in some today, trade unionism will become as generally accepted in our country as in England and the Scandinavian countries. In fact, trade unionists will no doubt grow in influence in every facet of American life, social, economic and political. This is as it should be since a social system can not be a healthy one if there exists a second-class citizenship for any group in its midst.

If then we are reasonably right in our first premise, the second should logically follow. That is, trade unionism implies among other things that collective bargaining is a normal relationship between employees and employer. Otherwise the privilege of organization is largely an empty one. . . .

A further premise of great importance is the essential dignity of all labor,

however menial, if it serves human welfare. Few will seriously challenge the soundness of this premise. How many, however, are cognizant of the fact that increasing mechanization in industry tends to reduce many workers to the level of the semiskilled and subjects them to the depersonalizing influences of monotonous automatic labor? . . .

A final premise assumes that workers can no longer be looked upon as mere "hewers of stone and carriers of water." That is, events not only at home but abroad indicate that workers are asserting not only their rights but also their desire to assume responsibility in the whole field of community and national life. In other words they are arriving at the stage in their social development where they want and expect to share in the whole of community, national and even international life and action. . . .

Walter Reuther[15] outlines the broad aims of the United Automobile Workers Union, one of the most powerful of the organized labor groups. In the article from which this selection is taken, he proceeds to describe the efforts for old-age security, good health, peace, and the strengthening of democracy through such things as a guaranteed annual wage and insurance, which will give a broad security to the worker and his family. All of this involves education for intelligent political action.

We in the United Automobile Workers' Union (Congress of Industrial Organizations) have worked hard in the vineyard of collective bargaining, and hundreds of thousands of workers and their families have won for themselves greater security and a richer, fuller life.

While our gains and achievements have been outstanding, we realize that collective bargaining is a never ending struggle to make human progress. Each victory, each gain, must be used to further strengthen and build our union—to educate our members to an understanding of their rights, their opportunities, and their responsibilities and to prepare ourselves to move forward to further achievements. There are still many problems unsolved and still many battles to be won before workers receive their full share of the fruits of American industry.

Perhaps the best way for me to discuss the practical aims and purposes of American labor is to recount some of the major achievements of the UAW-CIO, and some of its major goals and hopes for the future.

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The UAW-CIO has worked and fought hard to raise collective bargaining above the level of a struggle between competing economic pressure groups, and to gear it to the good of the whole community. We have clearly understood that we live in an inter-dependent world in which labor cannot raise itself by its own

economic bootstraps. The UAW-CIO has had the strength and has generated the loyalty and enthusiasm that have made possible our great gains, because we abandoned the old slot-machine kind of unionism and instead developed the kind of progressive and dynamic program that reflects the needs of all the American people.

Out of this concept grew the dynamic wage policy which we have developed in the last five years—a wage policy which is directed toward increased purchasing power and real wages, rather than just toward increases in money wages.

The UAW-CIO basic agreements, which now cover more than one million workers, translate into reality the economic and social principles which have been the foundation of the union's program during the last five years. They recognize that increased purchasing power—not just increased money wages—is the only basis for a higher standard of living. They recognize that workers have a right to a constantly improving standard of living and that they have a right to share in the benefits of greater production, made possible through technological progress, without additional human effort.

Our union was born out of the determination of the workers in our industry to build for themselves and their families a better life and a more secure future. The workers recognize that they could build a better world for themselves and their children only through the establishment of a powerful, militant, democratic, and progressive industrial union with the strength and vision to champion their cause.

Peter F. Drucker,[16] an economic analyst of modern society, extends Reuther's idea to show the stake that everyone has in the actions of labor groups.

Never before, it seems, has organized labor been as strong, as powerful, and as accepted, in this country, as today. Yet the American labor movement faces its most serious crisis. It is a crisis of success, not of failure—but that may make it all the more severe. Our union leaders still live in the days when they had to fight for recognition if not for existence. But the problems they really face are those of labor's power and responsibility as a ruling group in industrial society.

True to the traditions of this country, and they are good traditions, in this case at least—the problems will not be solved on the theoretical or abstract level, but pragmatically and case by case. But it is quite clear what the areas are in which the decisions will have to be found. They are: (1) wage policy, (2) the "right to strike," (3) union control over the citizen's access to a livelihood, and (4) internal union organization.

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In the final analysis, the problem of labor's role in our industrial society is one of conflict between the position of the labor union in the individual enterprise

and the position of the labor movement in modern society. In the individual enterprise, the union is first and foremost a permanent opposition, an "antibody." There are many areas within this relationship where the interests of enterprise and union go together; and the more cooperation there can be in these areas the more effective, and the stronger, will both enterprise and union be. But the union can never subordinate itself to the enterprise's rationale of profitable and efficient production as the final yardstick of decisions, behavior, and policy. Its major function will always be to set against the purely economic goals of the enterprise the economic, social, and political goals of the employee.

Society, however, must demand of the union movement that it take positive responsibility for the strength and success of society and economy. It is not possible for the union movement to claim exemption from this responsibility on the ground that the labor union is just another pressure group—the attitude John L. Lewis has taken so consistently. For the labor movement differs fundamentally from all other pressure groups in that it possesses both coercive and exclusive powers. No farm organization, however strong, has ever been able to prevent its own members from planting, harvesting, or marketing a crop. No other pressure group, in other words, has ever been able to control either the citizen or society. The labor union, inevitably, can do both. And this means that the labor union, rather than being a pressure group, that is, an economic organization, inevitably has political and social powers.

Of any such group, society must demand positive responsibility. Society must demand that the labor movement subordinate its own aims and beliefs to the aims and beliefs of society, to the productivity of the economy and the profitability of the enterprise system. But at the same time, society demands that the union act as a permanent opposition within the individual enterprise.

This conflict has not been resolved in any country. It is widely believed that the American labor movement is less mature than some of the older European labor movements. This is a fallacy. In fact, the American labor movement is a great deal more mature than any European labor movement, if only because it has been wise enough not to let itself become the tail of the ideological kite of a political party. But the best that can be said for the American labor movement, and even for its more advanced leaders, is that it is slowly becoming aware of the existence of a problem of labor's role and position in industrial society. On our success in solving this problem within the next generation may depend not only the survival of an independent and strong unionism, but the survival of our productive economy and our free society.

These selections from the field of workers' education indicate that there are two major needs at present: (1) to strengthen and extend services to labor groups

along the lines promised by current programs, and (2) to make workers' education a more integral part of the total adult-education efforts in the community.

Labor education is inextricably a part of community adult education. The fact that there have been and still are suspicions on both sides must be recognized. The central fact which can help to cut through these differences is the role of *work* in our society. Work is a central factor in any society—so much so that it often escapes attention. In a society of specialized techniques which permit more opportunities for other things, the role of work—and therefore of the worker, requires re-examination. In this connection the statement of J. B. S. Hardman in *Workers' Education in the United States*, is relevant:[17]

WHAT IS WORKERS' EDUCATION?

DEFINING THE AREA. Briefly and perhaps somewhat crudely defined, *workers' education* is *education for workers*. The logic of this definition lies in the fact that when we say workers' education we refer neither, specifically, to the enterprises which seek to Americanize the foreign-born; nor, generally, to the magnanimous efforts which aim to inject a living content into the intellectual vacuums left in some adult heads by education they received in the little red brick school. Only incidental to the concept and scope of workers' education are the activities which help to overcome handicaps of language or adult illiteracy, or which try to train adult workers in skills and trades they did not learn at an earlier age. Basic to workers' education is the effort to help the worker find his location upon the scale of our socio-economic setup, to gain a clear knowledge of all the facts relevant to his condition as a *wage-earner*. By this definition, workers' education aims at equipping the worker with the kind of tools that will enable him to become a better wage-earner, and this means *to make him a union member* and ever a *better* union member. Thus workers' education lands foursquare in the vortex of ideas and interests which center in organized labor. There it properly belongs: workers' education is in this sense different from what is being done in the institutions devoted to general adult education or to vocational training.

Conceivably, our accent upon the wage-earner aspect of workers' education may bring up the terrifying specter of *class* education. But this is so only if we insist on an habitual loyalty to accepted, but not at all real, meanings of certain words. The democratic society which has been emerging in recent years, however slow the pace of progress, does not at all preclude a functional relevancy between the terms *union member* and *democratic citizen*. In this respect, the tasks of workers' education are not altogether distinct from those which progressive public education will soon have to deal with. For all too long a time, the interrelation of the worker as citizen, and citizen as worker, has remained neglected

under our public education system. Surely there is no basic contrast between democracy and free associations of wage-earners; indeed the relationship is one of integration. Public educators will be obliged to pay much attention to this crucial fact.

At the same time that we build better services for workers' education, we must also move, as a number of universities are doing, to help management and the public. Agriculture, too, will be increasingly involved as technological developments bring into this area the same kinds of problems. Each such area—agriculture, organized labor, management, professional services—has its specialized educational needs; together they constitute the public, which has the task of creating over-all policies which will enable each group to do its work still more effectively.

NATIONAL AGENCIES

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THE CONCERN OF THIS BOOK is to help develop a strong program of education for adults. Since the focus is on meeting the needs of adults whenever and wherever the needs occur, the center of such a program will be in the local community. Only as we can build comprehensive and competent services at the local level can we accomplish this task successfully. In a totalitarian country it would be possible to do the planning at the top and order the programs put into effect in every locality. In a democracy we maintain the major responsibility at a level where the citizens, operating in face-to-face groups, can set the basic patterns.

Anyone who has participated in such a democratic program knows that the local groups need help with ideas, with materials, with the variety of special skills which are required for programs which are adaptable to local differences. There is a place in the cooperative approach to local community problems for resources at the state and national levels. The point to keep in mind is that the major purpose of these resources is to build strong local activities.

The theory is straightforward and generally accepted. The difficulties arise in practice. The emphasis upon the central role of local needs does not ensure that localities will automatically act on these needs. Time is short, and the result is often that persons operating at the state and national levels grow impatient and take over responsibilities that should be fostered at the local level. "Tell us what

we should do and we will be glad to go to work at it" is a plaint too well known to persons who try to aid local groups. If the outside resource persons succumb to this cry, local leadership is still further emasculated.

One of the major points to emphasize, therefore, is that assistance to the local groups must continue over a period of time long enough to build the necessary leadership. Too often plans are made to finance services for a three-year period. At the end of that time there may be little to show in the way of tangible results, and the aid is terminated when possibly it should be increased. Unless persons at the state and national level recognize that the growth which generally characterizes efforts to foster local responsibility is slow, and unless they ensure continued support for ten-year periods, we shall continue to see a succession of abortive experiments.

Everyone in adult education has a stake in this matter of providing adequate help to local groups. The goal we are trying to reach is the availability of services to all adults in this country, young and old, of all levels of experience and ability, whether they live in city, village or country, north, east, west and south. It is heartening to find occasional places where good programs have been achieved, but our task is to make these the rule and not the exception.

One of the encouraging signs has been the sensitivity of the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. to the approach outlined above. In fact, the strong feeling which we as authors have on this matter arises, to a considerable degree, from our participation in the development of policy in the Association. We devote considerable space to selections from the materials of the Association not only because it is the national organization in adult education but also because it illustrates in a very positive way some of the steps that can be taken to strengthen the partnership with local groups.

The development of the new Association is an interesting effort to apply the concept of democratic participation. The urge to create a single national organization came from a situation in which there had been two organizations carrying on almost identical activities, neither one having the resources to do an adequate job. When a committee was established to consider the possibilities of a single organization, it wisely began with a careful examination of the current situation in adult education and the appropriate functions of a national organization. We shall quote from some of these analyses which the organizing committee prepared.

The first selection is taken from a progress report of the joint committee.[1] At this stage the committee was composed of representatives of the two national organizations, and there was a good deal of suspicion growing out of the relations between the two groups. Because it would have been easy to become bogged down, as had some earlier attempts, the approach of the committee was of great importance.

The present endeavor to create a single or a new organization is an endeavor to find a means of unifying and enriching the professional functions which the American Association for Adult Education and the Department of Adult Education have undertaken to serve in the past.

As the report will clearly indicate, this endeavor does not carry the connotation of "merger," of "absorption," of "amalgamation," or of "federation." The Joint Committee has been actively engaged in making plans for a new kind of adult education organization that can meet the needs of the adult education field, unify existing leadership, and provide an executive channeling of service between local, state, regional and national adult education programs.

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This first decision of the Joint Committee (to explore the tasks of the adult education profession) was of crucial importance. *First,* it was a procedural decision and thus did not invoke strong feelings of loyalty or the consideration of individual agenda plans in advance of a thorough consideration of all the factors involved. *Second,* this first decision of the Committee established the precedent of moving toward the solution of other problems thru a stepladder progression of decisions on the basic and underlying questions. Had the Committee failed to reach agreement on its first decision it would have had nothing to go back to. The history of the Joint Committee has been a steady movement forward on the basis of agreements reached. Because of this the Joint Committee is now able, if necessary, to resolve a point of disagreement by going back to a previous agreement and then moving forward again.

The Tasks of the Adult Education Field

The exciting vision of involving all adult educators in the creation of a new, responsive, and multi-purpose organization capable of serving and providing leadership on many fronts captured the imagination of all members of the Joint Committee from the beginning of its operations. In recognizing that the needs for a national adult education organization had to be ascertained before consideration could be given to the planning of organizational measures adequate to meet them the Joint Committee was at once conscious of its own inadequacy to assess these needs. However, it felt that in order to give a reality basis to its considerations it should at least draw up a tentative list of the tasks performed by adult education in the field.

The Joint Committee therefore decided to approach organizational needs in terms of those tasks of adult education from which organizational needs may grow. The tasks which the Joint Committee has examined and sees as areas of responsibility touching all programs of adult education are as follows: (It is reemphasized the following is a preliminary listing of the responsibilities of the professional field of adult education—not the functions of a new organization).

1. Identification of all formal and informal adult education activities and establishing good working relationships.
2. Diagnosis of the real needs and interests of the adult community as a whole and of the subgroups within it.
3. Evaluation of existing programs and services.
4. Planning more adequate programs and developing better coordination of community programs.
5. Discovery, development, and utilization of program resources such as techniques, methods, and materials.
6. Stimulation, involvement, and counseling of the individuals and groups served by adult education.
7. Involvement, selection, and education and training of non-professional adult education workers.
8. Interpretation of adult education to the public.
9. Development of pre-service and in-service education and training for professional adult education workers.
10. Development of programs of research in adult education.
11. Continuing development of a functional philosophy of adult education.
12. Development and safeguarding of the professional status, economic security, and academic freedom of adult educators.

Possible Functions and Services of the Proposed Organization

The twelve tasks listed above indicate in a general way the scope and nature of the responsibilities of adult education programs. The Joint Committee recognizes that the list is incomplete and serves only as a guide to the forthcoming discussions in adult education circles. In examining these tasks in reference to the implications they hold for the formation of a new national, professional organization, the Joint Committee suggested the following possible general functions and services of the new organization:

1. Providing means of communication among adult educators (for example, conferences, committee work, periodicals, handbooks, staff correspondence, and interviews).
2. Providing consultation and referral services.
3. Stimulating, conducting, and reporting research and invention relevant to the practice of adult education.
4. Continuing definition of the adult education movement and profession.
5. Encouraging and assisting in continuing evaluation and improvement of the content and methods of leadership training and all aspects of the practice of adult education (such as, for example, materials, methods, techniques, program planning, organization, and administration).
6. Continuing interpretation of the social scene in the light of its effect on the educational needs of adults.

7. Interpretation and representation of adult education to the lay public, to workers on other educational levels, and to public and private agencies in the United States and internationally.
8. Attempting to secure more adequate legal and financial provision for adult education services.
9. Operating a placement service for adult education workers.
10. Defending adult education workers and agencies against infringements of rights essential to the performance of their functions.

Implicit in this list of functions and services are the agreements of the Joint Committee that the new organization should operate essential programs as well as serve and coordinate the work of others; that it should provide active leadership of its own as well as support the leadership of others; and that it should provide a balanced and broad program capable of earning and holding the involvement and respect of workers in adult education from all of the many specialized fields.

What kind of organization could do all these things? The planning group knew the limitations of the efforts of the existing organizations. It was aware of the special difficulties in the inchoate nature of adult education at this time. It therefore tried to identify some of the issues that would need to be considered and to formulate wherever possible guiding principles to be considered by the founding assembly. It is interesting to note that there are several points on which the planning group was not able to agree. The concept of continuous consideration by the new organization of all principles of operation was central in the planning.

The statement continues:[2]

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP

The above list of possible functions and services is sufficiently ambitious to require dependence upon the establishment of a sensitive and communicative relationship between the workers actually engaged in adult education and the policy-making officials responsible for directing the activities of the proposed organization.

The following principles have, therefore, been considered by the Joint Committee as consistent with its thinking about an organization which is quickly responsive to the changing demands and requirements of adult education carried on in the field. The Joint Committee has also been aware that implicit in the operation of a professional organization intent on serving the interests of a widespread and diversified clientele lurks the constant danger of power pressures

exerted by the size, influence, prestige, wealth, or some other characteristic of a part of its constituency. In taking this factor into account, the Joint Committee has emphasized protecting "minority interests" in adult education from domination by the larger and more solidly organized groups:

Specifically, the Joint Committee suggests that the structure of a national organization should be such as to

(1) Fulfill the functions assigned to it in terms of the needs of individuals and organizations working in adult education.
(2) Provide for the effective participation of the majority of adult education workers.
(3) Provide for the full participation and representation of, and services to, all minority interests in adult education.
(4) Grow and adapt to the changing needs of its constituency.
(5) Establish working relationships with organizations and fields of endeavor (that are not integral parts of the organization) as the interests of adult education may require.
(6) Integrate its activities closely with those of other local, state, regional, national and international adult education organizations, associations, and agencies.

Organizational principles considered but left unresolved include the following:

(1) To what extent should the policies and officers of the organization be determined directly by the membership? To what extent by representatives of the membership?
(2) To what extent should membership be open to all individuals and organizations concerned with adult education?
(3) Relationships that should exist between a national organization and other private educational agencies, such as the National Education Association, the American Council on Education, the Institute of Adult Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, etc.

As soon as it was clear that there was real promise of positive action, the group made up of the appointed representatives of the two organizations began to bring other persons into the planning. The committee held a one-week workshop at Sarah Lawrence College in the summer of 1950 with persons from a number of areas of adult education present. Subgroups were set up to develop the thinking in the various areas, such as in-service training, field services, and leadership training. These subgroups expanded their memberships and thus brought an additional number of persons into the planning for the new organization.

The material[3] which follows represents, as did the selections above, preliminary thinking to guide the persons who constituted the founding assembly and,

if approved there, the members of the association as they moved forward along related lines. The reader will find from time to time in the issues of *Adult Education* and in other materials published by the Adult Education Association further statements on the progress of these and other committees.

I. Social Interpretation and Direction Finding

[Chapter 21 contains a detailed selection from the work of the Committee on Social Interpretation and Direction Finding.]

In order that the adult education movement may work toward the realization of these and other desirable aims, the national organization should (a) Re-examine with workers on other educational levels and the members of the various educational and socio-civic groups the educational process as a whole with the implications the expanding opportunities for adult education have for elementary, secondary and higher education; (b) Interpret and anticipate developments in the social scene that create social problems at home and abroad and problems of personal orientation and morale for individuals; (c) Assist local communities in making such interpretations and assessing their adult educational needs; (d) Assist national organizations to make such interpretations and to evaluate and reconstruct their programs in the light of the characteristics and needs of the social scene; (e) Collaborate with other organizations in stimulating and conducting research in social problem areas.

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II. Consultation and Field Services

One of the purposes of the new organization is assumed to be the stimulation of the developments of adult education both in the expansion of program opportunities and in the improvement of the educational personnel producing the programs. The central office would stimulate this quantitative and qualitative improvement by certain services which it would provide for consultation and for work in the field.

A number of these services are outlined below. In envisaging the operation of these services the proposal is that the principle be followed that the national organization would never perform a task that could be done as well by another organization. It should also be noted at this point that no clear distinction is made between the function of consultation and the function of field service. It is assumed that there is considerable overlapping in these two functions and that the same staff members would be called upon to perform both types of services.

The following services are suggestive but in no way definitive:

1. Specific types of consultant and field services would include:
   a. Leadership training.
   b. Program and conference planning.

c. Assistance to national, state and local groups in strengthening their organizations from the standpoint of service to their own constituents.

d. Legislative consultant service.

e. Consultant service on financing adult education projects and programs.

f. Research assistance.

2. The maintaining of a continuous annotated inventory of personnel and services for consultant purposes already available on various levels—national, state and local; and the operation of a referral service where any of these existing services can meet the need.
3. The continual assessment of the need for consultant services and field services not now being provided for, and the furnishing of staff assistance directly to groups where satisfactory referrals cannot be made.

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III. Communication Among Adult Educators

The principal means of communication among professional and nonprofessional adult educators is the journal of the national organization. Many persons and some organizations will join the new association in order to receive the journal. It should be issued monthly to permit frequent contact with the membership. It should be attractive in format, well-planned in content. . . .

A somewhat less effective but nevertheless helpful means of communication would be the distribution of other types of publication than the journal. Such publications would include pamphlets, and reprints of articles of adult education implications that appear in other publications; for example, in labor journals, industrial journals, teachers' bulletins, research publications, etc.

In addition to serving as a house organ for the national organization, the journal would contain 1. articles, 2. news items, and 3. reviews of literature and research. The entire contents should be significant and lively, i.e., worthy of attention and discussion by workers in adult education and related fields.

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IV. Methods and Materials

A. *Materials.* It is suggested that the national organization be the focus for assembling of materials and information about the materials (unless some appropriate agency, e.g. Office of Education, can be found to take over this function).

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B. *Methods.* One of the services of the national organization can be that of training in the methods of adult education to all groups and organizations that are identified with the adult education task.

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V. Leadership Training

In the field of leadership training the proposed new organization should function primarily as a catalytic agent to stimulate, to promote, and to organize on a sharing basis the work of its constituents and cooperating agencies and individuals. It should seek to strengthen already existing leadership services and also open up new directions in leadership training.

Such a function will require 1) an intimate awareness on the part of the organizational staff of leadership training work being done in various areas and institutions throughout the country; 2) knowledge of research being undertaken and needed in the leadership education field and the significant findings and outcomes of the same; 3) a very strong personal collaborative and cooperative relationship with existing agencies and institutions in the field of leadership training; 4) proper clearing house facilities which cannot be provided by other organizations.

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VI. Personnel Services

1. Make an inventory of the various types of opportunities in adult education leadership such as the board of education or community directors of adult education, teaching positions, social service opportunities, personnel work, research assistants. . . .

2. Organize a placement service in co-operation with various component organizations. . . .

3. Work to raise the professional status of those engaged in various types of adult education leadership. . . .

VII. Public Relations and Financial Support

[See also Chapter 16]

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A specialist who understands legislative procedures, financial problems and promotion should be employed in the central office to devote full time to building support for adult education. Included in his work shall be such tasks as the following: 1) Acting as representative of the organization before congress, foundations, and similar sources of funds. . . . 2) Training and consultation services on request to local, state, and national organizations and agencies on methods of gaining more adequate financial support. 3) Preparing and assisting in the preparation of promotional materials on adult education for dissemination through the mass media—cinema, magazines, newspapers, radio, television, etc. 4) Helping to determine how to finance pilot projects; gathering information relating to finance as a background for the promotion and establishment of adult education activities.

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VIII. RESEARCH

A. The Committee makes the following affirmations:

1. The function of research is to assist communities and organizations to get problems solved more effectively. . . . Research is viewed as an integral part of the total local program, growing out of the work of the local organization and feeding back into its activities. . . .
2. In viewing research in this integral way it would be important that it be done in long-term units. Adequate weight should be given to basic research as needed.
3. The National Organization would operate primarily as a cooperating agency and would conduct research only where either (*a*) no other agency would do it, or only where (*b*) it is such an integral part of the program that the National Organization should clearly do it.

The Committee proposes the following kinds of activities:

A. The use of present resources—applying present research to adult education problems, reporting current studies, studying channels to improve use of research, clearing house on resources.

B. The development of attitudes relating to research—bringing about better communication between research workers and practitioners, helping identify practicable problems and getting research resources for them.

C. The development of a strategy of research—defining the various steps needed to accomplish the above and getting appropriate groups to accept responsibilities.

D. The provisions for evaluation—insuring early attention, assisting in developing necessary techniques.

The committees working on the materials quoted above were volunteer and had only limited resources. The statements were intended as working documents and had the inevitable roughness of such papers. It is therefore interesting to see how well they did keep the emphasis on the local groups and the way in which they saw the national organization in a helping role.

One of the problems that arose in defining the membership plan was to ensure that the power was in the hands of individual members. There was fear that organizational rather than individual memberships might open the way to control by blocs. At the same time it was very important that organizations be actively associated. It was therefore agreed that the many national organizations that were closely identified with adult education and should have definite relationships with the national organization should become members of a Council of National Organizations. This council would be an integral part of the Adult

Education Association. We quote from the materials developed at the meeting to organize the council in February 1952.[4]

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of the Council of National Organizations of the AEA is to afford an opportunity for national organizations voluntarily to confer, plan or work together more effectively on problems of common concern in adult education.

STRUCTURE

As authorized by Article III of the Constitution of the AEA of the USA, a Council of National Organization is created. Although a constitutional organ of the AEA, this Council shall develop its own policies, programs, and organization, and shall determine its operating relationships with the AEA.

1. The name of this organization shall be "THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS of the AEA of the U.S.A."
2. The governing body of the Council shall be the representatives of Participating Organizations of the Council convened in assembly.
3. Each Participating Organization shall be entitled to one voting representative in the Council.

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MEMBERSHIP

1. For the purposes of membership planning the Council of National Organizations of the AEA of the U.S.A. is considered a consultative assembly.
2. The constituents of the CNO are designated as Participating Organizations.
3. The following organizations are considered eligible for election as Participating Organizations:
   a. those interested in the general philosophy and basic purposes of the AEA of the USA
   b. those representing interests that are national or international in scope
   c. those actively concerned with and contributing to the educational improvement of the adult population
   d. Federal government agencies and sub-divisions thereof
   e. those dedicated to broadly acceptable social goals
   f. those who maintain standards of integrity and factual accuracy in their educational materials
   g. professional and trade associations of recognized standing but not individuals or individual business firms
   h. those which are not essentially partisan political organizations.

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Program, Services, and Projects

The Council of National Organizations of the AEA should serve as a depository of information on agency programs, projects, findings, materials, techniques and services.

A survey of organization programs and problems is recommended to serve as an initial pool of resources for a proposed clearing house.

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It is believed that Participating Organizations in the Council expect to derive two benefits from the Council:

1. An exchange of information on the basis of content
2. An exchange of information on the basis of educational techniques and materials.

Be it resolved that: Implicit in the program of the CNO is education for democracy and that one of the first items on the CNO agenda should be an exploration of how to translate this objective into program.

It is recommended that:

1. AEA and CNO do not set up parallel service and functioning committees without good reason, but that
2. Organizations have adequate representation on committees.

The Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. has lived up to the democratic principles outlined above. It is endeavoring to build a strong body of services to adult educators. It publishes two magazines, *Adult Education* and *Adult Leadership*; it has twenty committees working on problems of program and service; it is developing a regional service program; and in other ways it is undertaking to strengthen the hands of local practitioners. It is well aware that the national organization can be strong over a long period of time only when there is activity in the local communities.

We have devoted considerable space to the new national organization for adult education because it is obviously of prime importance to persons interested in adult education and because of the effort it has made to meet some of the problems of our complex civilization. The wide acceptance of the importance of local control is not alone enough to ensure the maintenance of such control. There must be administrative plans which can successfully meet the decisions arising. The AEA is seeking to combine the best values of centralization and decentralization through (1) its series of working groups, each concentrating on some special aspect, such as problems of the aging or social philosophy, and (2) a number of offices throughout the country which will enable the association to keep closer contact with local activities and make wider use of persons in the various regions.

This approach calls for strong regional, state, and local organizations. It is one of the major functions of the AEA to assist in the development of these organizations, primarily by helping to train the leaders to man the services required. The matter of local organization will be dealt with in Chapter 13; here we shall merely emphasize again the importance of such organizations in providing comprehensive services to all adults.

The problem at the intermediate level is complicated by the fact that we are undoubtedly in a period of transition from states to regions as far as many kinds of services are concerned. Governmentally, states are the intermediate unit, and services, such as education, libraries, and agricultural extension, are organized on this basis. Functionally, however, many services can better be provided on a basis of an area larger than a single state, but we are only beginning to organize governmentally at this level. The TVA and the Southern Regional Council on Graduate Education are important developments in this direction. For nongovernmental services, we do not have agreement on boundaries, different organizations using different regional plans to divide the country.

The Agricultural Extension Service has worked very effectively on a federal-state-local plan of cooperation, and the experience of this service can provide guidance. (A statement on this program can be found in Chapter 5.)

Only a few states—California, Michigan and New Jersey are examples—have strong associations of adult education. Even in these, however, the services to the local communities are limited. Opportunities to share experiences and to join in training workshops are the chief services, plus occasional communications through newsletters. In general, state associations depend upon state education department personnel to carry out the services.

This dependence raises the problem of dividing financial resources between the federal and state agencies and the further problem of getting recognition for regions which could then qualify for governmental personnel services. States vary so tremendously in their wealth that services depending upon state and local financing tend to be very inequitably distributed among the total population, as has been demonstrated many times for the public schools. Adult-education leaders should work for ways of allocating to smaller units taxes collected at the national level so as to permit strong programs close to the level of the local communities.

Another problem that arises in connection with national organizations is the relation of an increasing number of such organizations to the local community. Very properly the national organizations recognize the importance of action at the local level and frequently they then proceed to organize the local community for the specific activity that they are promoting. If ten, twenty, thirty, or more national organizations all wish to organize local councils, the net effect may be inefficient or, worse, dangerous to the integrity of the locality. This emphasizes the task of community coordination, which will be treated in Chapter 13.

Of the many national organizations with a conscious concern for adult education (in December 1952, the Council of National Organizations had about 100 participating organizations), we shall present brief sketches of two to illustrate the organizational pattern and the services. The reader will find that other national organizations have been described in other chapters, as, for example, the three labor-education organizations in Chapter 10 and the Agricultural Extension Service in Chapter 5.

The National University Extension Association

One of the major organized services of adult education is university extension, as we pointed out in Chapter 8. The national organization which serves this area is the National University Extension Association, generally known by its initials NUEA. The purpose of the NUEA, as stated in its constitution, is "the establishment of an official and authorized organization through which colleges and universities engaged in university extension, adult education and other public services may confer for the development and the promotion of the best ideals, methods and standards." This is elaborated somewhat in the following paragraphs from a mimeographed statement on the Association:[5]

The chief benefit of the NUEA is that it serves as the one organization that has consistently for 32 [38 in 1953] years promoted the interests of the major universities and colleges in the field of public service and adult education. University Extension has set a unique pattern which has developed the American University into a genuine public service institution, a significant contribution to modern times, to a civilization that needs as never before a disinterested, relatively free approach to knowledge and understanding.

The Association provides a common meeting ground for educators and administrators concerned with university extension who in other associations are not adequately represented; and its officers and committees have been able to influence national policies in many fields, especially on the federal level in emergency situations calling for initiative and invention. Two examples are the U. S. A. F. I. [United States Armed Forces Institute] and E. S. M. W. T. [Engineering, Science and Management War Training]. Others, less well known, are the remarkable impetus to the proper use of audio-visual techniques, the centralization of motion picture depositories, and the creation of the National Film Council and the Educational Film Library Association. Recent accomplishments have been the inauguration of Training Courses for Extension Workers with the support of the Carnegie Corporation and the expansion of resident extension centers and correspondence courses for veterans.

Promotion of the idea of federal aid for university extension presents a prob-

lem calling for consistent study, conferences, and consultation with other associations' policy-making bodies.

The Association conducts an annual conference; publishes a monthly *Bulletin*, the proceedings of the conferences, *Studies in University Extension*, and other materials; and has a number of committees which carry on special or continuing studies and report to the members. The 1951 *Proceedings* carried reports from the following committees: Implications of Atomic Energy for Adult Education, Extension and Adult Education Research, Radio and Television, Studies in Extension Education, Industrial Relations and Workers Education, Institutes and Conferences, Technical Institutes, Institutional Cooperation, and Community Organization.

The NUEA is an organization of institutions. The sections of the constitution on membership and representation illustrate the way in which this kind of organization has dealt with the problems of participation. Voting is by institution, with each institution holding active membership entitled to one vote. Individuals participate in the activities of the Association, but only the accredited representative of each institution votes.[6]

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

1. Consistent with the purpose of this organization, the membership of the National University Extension Association shall consist of active members, associate members, and individual members. Active members shall include those institutions which, at the time of making application for membership, are State Universities, Land-Grant Colleges, and other institutions of acceptable standing not included in the above classification.

2. Institutions conducted for financial gain or profit shall not be eligible for membership in this Association.

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5. Associate membership in this Association shall be composed of institutional members conforming in all respects to the provisions of Sec. 1 and 2 of Article III of this Constitution but which may not fully meet the criteria set forth in the by-laws. Such members shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership, except the right to vote in business sessions or on matters binding the Association.

6. Individual membership in this Association shall be composed of persons in the employ of either active or associate institutional members. Such individual members, at the meetings of the Association, shall be given the privilege of the floor but not the right to vote.

7. Emeritus faculty or administrative extension personnel who are no longer in the employ of the institutional members by virtue of retirement shall hold honorary membership without payment of dues.

ARTICLE IV. REPRESENTATION

1. The principle of representation in this Association shall be institutional rather than official or individual. The number of accredited representatives from each institution shall be determined by the member institution itself.

2. The allotted number of accredited representatives for each institution shall be chosen by that institution in such manner as meets the approval of the president of that institution.

3. Any officer, whether a member of the faculty, the division of extension or of the board of governors of any institution belonging to this Association shall be entitled to all the privileges of a representative excepting the right to vote.

4. Each institution received as a member of this Association shall be entitled to one vote on any question before the Association, the vote to be cast by its accredited representative or representative spokesman.

The American Library Association

The American Library Association, commonly known as the ALA, is one of the major national professional organizations in adult education. It is a comprehensive association with a large staff and it undertakes to serve all the interests of the library movement. As we have pointed out in Chapter 6, there is not agreement on just what aspects of library work are properly considered adult education. The over-all picture of the ALA is given in the statement in the *Encyclopedia Americana*:[7]

The American Library Association is an international organization of 15,000 librarians, library trustees and friends of libraries. Most of the membership is drawn from the United States and Canada. Founded in 1876, to promote better library service and librarianship, it is the oldest and largest library association in the world and is affiliated, formally and informally, with more than sixty other library organizations. The association initiated the expansion of the public library movement in America and blazed the trail toward the recognition of librarianship as a profession. The man largely responsible for the organization of ALA, Melvil Dewey, was also the organizer of the first library school. The growth of library schools, in number and significance, received important stimulation from the ALA Board of Education for Librarianship. Through a grant from the Carnegie

Corporation, the board was enabled to establish standards and accreditation, to carry on studies, and to encourage the publication of professional texts.

The association acts as a clearing house for public libraries, school, college, hospital, prison, business and special libraries, as well as for library schools. It sets standards for library personnel, carries on cooperative programs such as cataloguing, the compilation of bibliographies, etc., makes authoritative information available on subjects related to library matters. Through its International Relations Office opened in 1942, the association is concerned with the operation of American libraries in foreign countries, the interchange of librarians and publications on an international basis, and the importation of foreign books and journals. The association opened a national relations office in Washington in October 1945, to "advance and protect the interests of libraries and of people who use libraries, insofar as those interests may be helped or hurt by legislation, regulation or other government action."

The association publishes five regular periodicals—the *ALA Bulletin,* issued monthly, which includes news, articles, reports on association activities, conference proceedings and the yearly directory of members. *Booklist* is a semimonthly guide to the selection and purchase of current books. The quarterly *Subscription Books Bulletin* reviews subscription sets. The *Quarterly Hospital Book Guide* presents reviews of carefully selected fiction and nonfiction suitable for use in hospitals and similar institutions. In addition, the ALA publishes numerous books and pamphlets of special interest to librarians.

The association's policies are directed by an executive board and council of practising librarians. It has several divisions, concerned with specialized fields of library service, each of which enjoys considerable autonomy within the framework of the parent organization. Some of these divisions issue specialized publications, for example, *College and Research Libraries,* published by the Association of College and Reference Librarians. Membership dues in the American Library Association are on a graduated scale, based on salary and library income. Besides membership dues, endowments, grants and sales of publications contribute to the association's income. The association holds midwinter and spring conferences yearly. David H. Clift is executive secretary of the association, which maintains headquarters at 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The ALA has a variety of groups within its over-all structure in order to take care of the variety of activities involved in building a strong library service throughout the nation. Adult education is specifically dealt with by the Adult Education Board and by the Adult Education Section of the Public Libraries Division. Special projects, such as the American Heritage Project, are handled by committees. The ALA's responsibilities in this project have been stated by Mrs. Grace Stevenson, who will direct it.[8]

The most challenging achievement of ALA's 75th anniversary year to date is the grant of $150,000 made by the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation for the purpose of establishing, under local public library leadership, community discussion programs on "The Heritage of the U.S.A. in Times of Crisis." In conducting the project the ALA has agreed to:

1. Plan and coordinate the program through a central staff, field workers and consultants.

2. Select a group of six demonstration regional and local areas with due attention to variations in location, population density, library governmental structure, economic and educational factors; and allocate funds to public libraries in these areas for staff, materials, transportation and related expenses.

3. Provide consultation and advisory service to these and other public libraries spontaneously participating in the program.

4. Conduct a training program through the national staff, field workers and consultants, including national and regional workshops and institutes for library specialists and community volunteers.

5. Identify and develop suitable program, training and promotional materials based primarily on the New York Public Library experience and will facilitate their distribution to the demonstration areas and to other cooperating libraries.

6. Seek the guidance of other interested national groups through such channels as the Council of National Organizations of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.

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One of the end results the program should strive to achieve is establishment for the future of a pattern of adult community discussion under library leadership all over the country.

The director does not visualize the heritage program as a flag-waving program. Its object is not to prove American superiority to the world, nor do we expect to indulge in ancestor worship.

The program must be big in conception, with the long view—giving the average citizen a chance to examine his heritage and decide what it stands for; to realize where we have achieved the dream of our forefathers, where we have failed, and what we might do about the failures.

Three of the greatest dangers in our national life today are fear, distrust, and the apathy of the great masses of people about public questions. The program must provide an opportunity for renewal of democratic faith—a confidence that the foundations of our national life have both the strength and flexibility to be translated into meaning for the present so that our democratic principles may fit our greatly changed conditions.

The only way to keep our American heritage alive is by a constant translation

of it into the institutions and needs of our times. By an examination and understanding of this heritage, we hope to help today's Americans to accomplish this.

The ALA, like all large organizations, faces the problem of how to get active participation among its members. The matter has been well stated by Clarence B. Graham, president of the ALA in 1950-51, in a report to the Council.[9]

Your problem as members of the Association is that you must not expect your president, your Executive Board, and even your Council, which is elected to represent you—to do your thinking and to solve your problems for you. Periodically, you have an activities committee appointed to do some soul searching for you. I plead for each member of the Association to appoint *himself* a permanent activities committee and do away with these periodic binges of self-righteous reforming.

* * *

I have never failed to learn something of importance in even the smallest library I have visited. I have been struck by the fact that librarians are increasingly becoming the leaders in their community. And yet in their own professional association, many are not contributing toward its own militant democracy.

National Foundations

One national group of growing importance to adult education consists of the foundations. These do not themselves deal directly with the local community except in cases of pilot projects, but they do indirectly influence activities through their support of universities and other groups that provide services to localities. Because of the extensive role played by the Carnegie Corporation in the support of adult education during the second quarter of this century and the promising role being assumed by the Ford Foundation at the beginning of the second half of the century, we believe it is very important that the student of adult education have some knowledge of this part of the total educational picture.

We choose the present selections relating to the Ford Foundation for reasons which parallel those given for the choice of the AEA earlier in the chapter. The Ford Foundation (on an expanded basis) is new and has recently made a very careful study of its role. It is also closely related to current adult education.

In 1948, when it was anticipated that considerable funds would soon be available, the trustees had a study made as the basis for the policy of the Foundation. The general approach of the study committee is set forth in the following paragraphs from its report:[10]

Pursuant thereto, a Study Committee was appointed to act as independent consultants to the Foundation. This Committee was made up of men widely known and respected in such fields as education, medicine and public health, the natural sciences, political science and government, the social sciences, the humanities, and modern business and industry.

The Study Committee agreed at the outset that the purpose of the Study was not to accumulate a comprehensive catalogue of projects which the Foundation might undertake, but to block out in general terms those critical areas where problems were most serious and where the Foundation might make the most significant contributions to human welfare.

The Study Committee also agreed at the outset that it should view the needs of mankind in the broadest possible perspective, free from the limitations of special professional interests, if it was to discover the most important problems and opportunities of human welfare. The Study Committee invited each member to ignore the confines of his specialty or profession and bring to the Committee the best thinking in his field concerning the most pressing problems of human welfare generally, whether they lay in his field or elsewhere. By agreement therefore each Committee member respected the boundaries of his own experience and training only for the purposes of administrative coordination.

The Study Committee held hundreds of interviews and conferences and analyzed thousands of pages of materials. It sought to find a "clearer understanding of the term 'human welfare,'" which was central in the Foundation's charter. In this connection it may be noted that Lindeman, in an earlier study of 100 foundations, had found that 90 percent of their expenditures were for education (43 percent), health (33 percent), and social welfare (14 percent).

The Committee proposed an interpretation of the role of a foundation which is useful to us in interpreting the current situation. It should be remembered that this is a report of a study committee and not an official statement by the Foundation.[11]

THE ROLE OF A FOUNDATION

This view of democracy is one of challenge to a modern foundation. By the character of its response The Ford Foundation will determine the degree to which it will help carry toward maturity the modern concept of philanthropy.

The history of philanthropy is the record of a continuously evolving philosophy of giving. At one time the gifts of individuals and benevolent organizations were intended largely to relieve the suffering of "the weak, the poor and the unfortunate." Philanthropy was thought of merely as temporary relief for evil con-

ditions which would always exist and about which nothing fundamental could be done. With the establishment of the modern foundation a much greater concept came into being. The aim is no longer merely to treat symptoms and temporarily to alleviate distress, but rather to eradicate the causes of suffering. Nor is the modern foundation content to concern itself only with man's obvious physical needs; it seeks rather to help man achieve his entire well-being—to satisfy his mental, emotional, and spiritual needs as well as his physical wants. It addresses itself to the whole man and to the well-being of all mankind.

A foundation is, by its nature, especially well equipped for this task. It has no stockholders and no constituents. It represents no private, political, or religious interests. Most foundations may, if they deem it wise, expend their total resources within any period they wish. This freedom from entanglements, pressures, restrictive legislation, and private interest endows a foundation with an inherent freedom of action possessed by few other organizations.

Further, a great foundation possesses an extraordinary stature in the public mind. By law, as well as by its charter, it is dedicated to human welfare. Its responsibility is to the public as a whole. In political and social issues it cannot be partisan. This very nonpartisanship and objectivity gives to the foundation a great positive force, and enables it to play a unique and effective role in the difficult and sometimes controversial task of helping to realize democracy's goals.

The breadth of The Ford Foundation's objectives imposes a duty on it to put its resources at the disposal of those who can contribute most significantly to the advancement of democracy. The Foundation must be constantly alert to the problems and needs of our society; it must continuously stand ready to help in those strategic areas where the greatest progress can be made toward democratic goals, and wherein human needs and aspirations can be most effectively fulfilled.

The needs and problems of human welfare far exceed the total of all available foundation funds. Of the two billions of private monies expended annually in the United States for philanthropic purposes, only three percent are provided by foundations. Yet foundations have succeeded in making contributions of the greatest benefit to mankind. The real significance of a foundation's spending lies not in the amount expended but in the care and wisdom with which its programs are selected.

These facts clearly indicate the need for the Foundation to concentrate its support upon those problems which are at once the most important and which obstruct progress in the most directions. Successful work upon them is likely to have the effect of a catalytic agent. Such concentration means, of course, that support will not be available for work in other areas; this is an inevitable result of selectivity. The Trustees and officers of the Foundation must at all times remain alert, however, to the dynamic nature of the needs and problems of human welfare and must stand ready to reorient their programs as conditions and opportunities change.

The Foundation is free to interpret its own function in society and to act boldly in implementing that interpretation. The opportunity is great; the responsibility is equally great. If the opportunity is met with foresight, good sense, and courage, it is our opinion that the Foundation can play a vital role in the furtherance of democracy, and consequently in the advancement of human welfare.

The Foundation proceeded to set up a number of autonomous funds to handle specific areas. One of these was the Fund for Adult Education, which takes the responsibility for projects most directly relating to adult education. The basic approach of the Fund for Adult Education is set forth in the Annual Report for 1951:[12]

The goals for Program Area Four ("Education in a Democratic Society") were given the following description:

> The Ford Foundation should support activities to strengthen, expand, and improve educational facilities and methods to enable individuals more fully to realize their intellectual, civic, and spiritual potentialities; to promote greater equality of educational opportunity; and to conserve and increase knowledge and enrich our culture.
>
> Education must meet the needs of the human spirit. It must assist persons to develop a satisfactory personal philosophy and sense of values; to cultivate tastes for literature, music, and the arts; and to grow in ability to analyze problems and arrive at thoughtful conclusions.

To carry out the above commitment in the general area of education, the Ford Foundation established two independent organizations separately administered by their own Boards of Directors: The Fund for the Advancement of Education and The Fund for Adult Education. To the first Fund was assigned the responsibility for activities addressed to formal education in schools; to the second was assigned the responsibility for activities dealing with "that part of the total educational process which begins when schooling is finished." This latter phase of the educational process was considered to have as its aim "the expansion of opportunities for all adult men and women to continue their education throughout life in the interests of mature and responsible citizenship"—bearing in mind that "in today's world civic responsibilities are political, economic, and social in scope."

The Program of The Fund for Adult Education

It is against this background that the Fund for Adult Education conceives its special task as that of lending support to programs of liberal adult education for free citizens in our free society.

In the Fund's definition *education* stands in contrast to training on the one hand and indoctrination on the other. It is concerned with the development of the whole person, not merely specialized functions. It is concerned with developing the ability to think independently and well, not with the passive acceptance of ready-made, prescribed opinions. Teaching how to think, not what to think, is the aim. It is a life-long process with institutional education only the initial phase.

The *liberal* characteristic of education the Fund considers to adhere in processes and product rather than in content or material. The process is free thought and communication; the product is the mature and responsible citizen in a free society. The Fund recognizes that achieving education of a liberal character depends mainly upon the skill and imagination of the educator.

Education of a liberal character is no longer class education. Formerly its objective was to prepare the few for both the rights and the duties of freedom—freedom from the necessities of labor and for leisure; freedom for the privileges and obligations of rule. In the United States today almost no one is free from labor, but almost everyone has increasing opportunities for leisure. Almost all adult citizens share the responsibilities of rule. Liberal education, therefore, should now apply to the many and not merely to the few.

The Fund regards the continuing process of the education of *adults* as demanding materials and methods attractive to adults. The relationship between group leader and group member is not between the presumably immature as in the education of children and youths, but between equals of different life experiences. Accordingly, both materials and subject matter should be designed to capture and retain the interest of persons already having many competing uses for leisure time. There can be no compulsion on adults to participate in educational programs. They must give their time and energy freely or not at all.

The Fund conceives of liberal adult education as addressed to *free citizens*—individuals who are simultaneously ends in themselves and participating members of their society. It therefore follows that those to whom programs of liberal adult education are addressed have the privilege and responsibility of sharing in the shaping and carrying out of those programs.

From the fact that the Fund operates within, and in the service of, a *free society* stem additional determining factors. The free society of the United States in the mid-twentieth century is based on the assumption that the fullest development of the individual is the end in view and that the same individual is the means for its preservation. It is necessarily a self-examining and self-improving society. With universal suffrage the political base of the society, an enlightened adult citizenry is a fundamental requirement. From the consequent need to reach as many citizens as possible a program of adult education, to be fully effective, must employ all the media of communication the society makes possible—in our technological age the mass media as well as all the traditional channels.

Given the contemporary fact of world-wide interdependence, any educational

program looking to mature and responsible citizenship must recognize that the citizens of the United States face the danger of war and loss of freedom. If these perils are to be averted, the American people must act with knowledge, courage, and wisdom in a host of complex situations. Therefore, it is to education in world affairs, political affairs and economic affairs that the Fund directs its primary effort. At the same time there is recognition that these affairs must be understood broadly, in relation one to another and in the perspective of time. Accordingly, it is assumed that genuinely liberal thought and action in these spheres require a continuing attention to the heritage of humane insight and wisdom embraced within the humanities. In short, what is incontestably urgent must never blot out what is permanently important.

CERTAIN OPERATING PRINCIPLES

Just as the broad purpose of the Fund requires that it address itself to certain general categories of activity rather than others, so the inherent nature of the Fund requires that it be highly selective within the framework of the general categories. Clearly the Fund at best can hope to address itself to only a limited segment of the total sphere of adult education in a free society. Rigorous selectivity is accordingly inescapable, and selection, in turn, must be on the basis of the relative contribution of a proposed program to the controlling aims of the Fund coupled with its relative appropriateness as a Fund-supported activity.

Given the nature of the organization and its commitment, and given the society within which it operates, the fundamental approach must be to seek out, encourage, strengthen, develop, and expand appropriate agencies and resources already existing rather than to bring into being new operations and agencies. The latter, nevertheless, will be regarded as appropriate when diligent investigation points to their necessity in the interests of the total program of the Fund.

Given the Fund's role as a philanthropic organization within the society and its commitment to the society in its totality, political non-partisanship is necessarily incumbent within the fundamental dedication to democratic values, institutions, and methods.

The activities which the Fund for Adult Education has undertaken have been described by its president, C. Scott Fletcher, in an article in *Adult Education*:[13]

During its first six months the FAE has concentrated on two tasks essential to a proper grounding of long-range policy planning and procedure: (1) a comprehensive stock-taking of existing adult education activities and agencies with regard to their aims, scope, policies, methods, resources, accomplishments, and potentialities; and (2) the support of initiation of specific projects promising to

offer guidance for the development of its long-range program. The Fund's work undertaken to date can be catalogued under four headings—Fact Finding, Television and Radio, Community Discussion, and Test Cities.

I. Fact Finding: Research Studies and Evaluation

An appropriate starting point appeared to be an evaluation of the liberal education programs for adults offered by the evening colleges.

Programs developed by business management, labor, and agricultural groups offered another important area requiring study. Other fruitful lines for investigation will be provided by college and university extension programs, the public schools, fraternal organizations, clubs, and civic groups.

Certain cities such as Denver and Cleveland have developed successful adult education programs. Therefore, the Fund has planned to get the facts and to disseminate them by means of the printed word and the motion picture.

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Because of the value of having the results of all these surveys and studies under one cover, the Fund will retain an outstanding writer to collate the findings into a related whole. This will provide a source book for all people interested in improving adult education in this country.

II. Television and Radio

The Fund will utilize the channels of television and radio as fully as is consistent with its aims and with the most effective development of its program. In television and radio two approaches will be made: (1) through commercial channels and (2) through educational channels.

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Educational radio stations have always had great need of professional assistance in developing stimulating educational programs. The grant made by the Fund to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters is making it possible for this group of 107 educational radio stations to obtain competent professional help. Financial aid in developing programs, as well as the loan of equipment, has similarly been granted to the only educational television station in the country, WOI-TV at Ames, Iowa. Support of the work of the Joint Committee on Educational Television is resulting in legal and technical advice and assistance to educational institutions which want to apply for television channels from the F.C.C.

Because the field of radio and television presents such a variety of difficult problems, the Fund plans to arrange for a survey to help in appraising the future of these most modern forms of communication.

III. Community Discussion

The Fund is convinced that in the last analysis "face-to-face" participation in discussion is the most effective means of adult education. Therefore it is (1) pro-

viding various aids to discussion leaders and groups and (2) supporting several discussion programs conducted by existing organizations. Preliminary findings of the surveys currently in progress under Fund auspices reveal that programs of adult education in the United States, numerous though they are, suffer from the lack of trained manpower and adequate funds.

Assistance in planning programs for adult discussion groups and in leading such groups is much needed by laymen in the field. The grant by the Fund to the new Adult Education Association will be used for the publication of a magazine designed to help the non-professional people who are engaged in adult education work.

For professional adult educators, the Fund will provide a number of scholarships and fellowships. As Cyril O. Houle wrote in the *Adult Education Bulletin* of April, 1949, "In the rapidly expanding field of adult education, the greatest bottleneck now is—as it has always been—the production of qualified and capable teachers."

The Fund seeks to use the medium of the 16 mm. film in a number of ways. The Film Council of America, which promotes the wider and more effective use by community organizations of film materials for the general welfare, has been given financial assistance. The Fund is exploring the possibilities of producing a film on the importance of continuing education throughout life. It will produce a film on the Cleveland program already mentioned.

The lack of adequately trained discussion leaders has made it abundantly clear that the programs of existing organizations cannot move as rapidly to reach a maximum number of people as the Fund believes imperative. Therefore, the acute need for inventing new methods and providing new opportunities has become apparent. Two special projects have been initiated and developed by the staff of the Fund. These will provide materials and assistance for more widespread group discussion.

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IV. Test Cities

The community is the point of greatest impact of adult education programs supported or initiated by the Fund. The community is the unit through which most adults will be reached and in which coordination should occur. In order to augment and coordinate adult education activities in the community, the Fund has devised the Test Cities Project.

The ends of the Test Cities Project are as follows:

(1) To test old, and invent new, methods of stimulating and integrating adult education activities at the community level.

(2) To determine the extent to which Fund-supported programs are useful educationally to various groups and various segments of the population within the community.

• • •

The Fund hopes to develop, in the Test Cities, patterns which other communities might wish to adapt to their own needs. It will attempt to establish in the minds of the people the importance of continuing adult education throughout life. It will indicate ways whereby they can participate in a variety of programs and benefit from their participation both as individuals and as a community. It hopes to demonstrate that to the extent adults become involved in such a coordinated pattern, they become well-informed, mature and responsible citizens. It is through an informed citizenry that the community improves itself and, at the same time, becomes aware of its world relationships, thus contributing to international understanding and a free world at peace.

The development of smooth-working relations in which strong national organizations provide services to local communities and help to channel action proposals to appropriate decision points and in which vigorous local groups help furnish the stimulus and support which keep national organizations growing is not easy, but there is nothing impossible in it. The major need will be to ensure that there is time and inclination to maintain adequate communication among the leaders. We have found the proposals of the AEA on this matter eminently promising.

There may be some question as to whether we need all the national organizations with which we are currently blessed. If limitations were to be imposed, however, by whom would they be determined? It is better to keep available the opportunity to organize freely than to impose any kind of censorship.

In the long run it is likely the development of strong local communities will take care of the matter. Once we achieve ways of considering the various questions which changing conditions create, there will be fewer uncared-for aspects which seem to call for an organization to do something. Where clear needs are indicated, support will be available through the local groups.

As in the other chapters, we emphasize the fact that these national organizations of the kind described are the concern of everyone involved in adult education. This does not mean that everyone is to join every organization. It does mean that at the policy level each person must have a clear picture of the kind of cooperative pattern he believes to be desirable and that he work to make this possible.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

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ALTHOUGH AN EFFORT WAS MADE after the First World War to set up an international organization through which adult-education leaders from many countries might exchange ideas, little came of the effort. A World Association for Adult Education, which was formed in 1919 and held a world conference in Cambridge, England, in July 1929, served as a clearinghouse for the collection of information and issued a variety of publications. The coming of the Second World War aborted these efforts at international cooperation, and it was not until the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945 that the effort was officially renewed.[1] This conference led to the establishment within the UN system of a specialized agency called the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Both at San Francisco and during the three years immediately preceding that event, many prominent educational leaders from the United States participated in the effort to define the objectives and functions of such an international organization. The lay representatives of important national voluntary agencies had a great deal to do finally with the adoption at San Francisco of provisions in the UN Charter which authorized the creation of a specialized educational agency. Constitutionally organized in London in 1945, UNESCO has throughout its brief history given a prominent place in its program to adult-education activities. If "it

is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed," it could scarcely do otherwise to attain its purposes.

In this chapter we shall include reports on the major adult-education activities of UNESCO.*

At both the second and third general conferences of UNESCO, at Mexico City in 1947 and at Beirut in 1948, respectively, resolutions were passed calling upon the Secretariat to organize an international conference on adult education. Such a conference was held at Elsinore, Denmark, in June 1949. The following report, by one of the members of the American delegation, describes some of the highlights of this meeting.[2]

First of all, a few facts about the conference itself. This was a Unesco-sponsored meeting on the grounds of the International People's College in Elsinore, Denmark, with the Danish Government acting as official host. It was attended by representatives of almost 30 nations and approximately 25 international organizations. Some 125 delegates were in attendance with official observers and visitors in addition. The conference lasted for 10 days, from June 16 to June 26 inclusive, and the bulk of the conference time was spent by the delegates in four commission meetings: one on materials of adult education; one on agencies and problems of organization; the third commission on methods and technics; and the fourth on means of establishing permanent cooperation in adult education.

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The organization, management, and methodology of international conferences represent an area of needed research and experimentation in adult education. On the basis of the experience in Denmark, it would be my hunch that special technics will have to be developed if the advantages of face-to-face communication in the work-type conference with which we are familiar in the United States are to be achieved in international meetings. I do not think this is simply a matter of overcoming the obvious blocks to communication in respect to language differences. To a large extent these can be overcome by simultaneous translation. Facilities to permit this at Denmark were not available.

More serious is the lack of common purpose and the perception of common problems. This heterogeneity of purpose is bound to be in evidence in a conference where the delegates' problems range all the way from literacy education for nomadic tribes in Egypt to evaluation of efforts to communicate the social implications of science thru museums and exhibits. It may well be that a regional approach to problems in adult education may advantageously preface efforts to identify common needs and common problems on a worldwide scale.

* Supplementing UNESCO's program are the Fulbright scholarships and fellowships, several of which have been granted in the field of adult education.

The principle of public support for adult education is, on the whole, well established thruout the world. In Great Britain grants from the Ministry of Education and local education authorities to adult education are estimated currently to approximate 2 million dollars. Norway will put almost 1 million dollars into direct state support, and state aid in Sweden will exceed 3½ million dollars in dollar equivalence. Differences arise, not over the principle of state support, but rather on the method of channeling this support into the bloodstream of private and public agencies of adult education. There was a definite cleavage within the conference over the role of voluntary agencies. On the whole, the Scandinavian delegates would give priority to demands of voluntary groups on the public funds available for support of adult education. In England, altho the principle of support of voluntary agencies is well established, it is now obligatory under the Education Act of 1944 for local education authorities to secure for their areas all the facilities necessary to meet the demand for all forms of "further education."

In this country we are firmly committed to the principle of channeling public funds to public agencies. In the field of adult education this may mean that the vitality of the voluntary movements is reduced unless our public adult schools conceive as part of their community responsibility, the rendering of service and assistance to the numerous autonomous groups which carry on adult education activities.

One cannot visit the folk high schools of Denmark or hear about the success of similar institutions in Norway and Sweden without wondering if we in adult education in the United States have adequately met the needs of the younger-age group of adults, especially those not served by our colleges and institutions of higher learning. The folk high school movement in the Scandinavian countries has been adequately reported in documents now translated into English, and those of us in public education could profit from a careful study of these materials.[3]

In a democratic society adult education can best be carried on in small face-to-face groups; in fact, democracy depends upon the vitality and virility of these groups. . . . Adult education can become the instrument for the harmonizing of interests within and among groups at home and across national boundaries. Adult education must become a world movement because essentially the problems which thwart man in his struggle for a better life are world problems. These ideas, as proposed by Sir John Maud of Great Britain, deserve to be pondered by each of us. Have we come to rely too dependently upon mass media in the United States? To what extent is adult education as a movement devoting its energies to the improvement of group process and group functioning? Have the resources of adult education in the United States really been channeled into a nationwide attack on political and economic illiteracy, particularly as it affects American public opinion on world problems? If not, why not? And, if not, has the time now come when the special interests and resources of university extension, public

adult schools, libraries, museums, agricultural extension, and workers' education, can be merged and integrated, at least so far as international cooperation and Unesco's program are concerned?

I should like to repeat here, in closing, what I have said to many of my friends since returning from Denmark. One comes home after an experience of this sort with a new appreciation of the responsibilities which being an American entails in today's world. It is a responsibility not without privilege, and those of us who are engaged in adult education will, I hope, in all humility be the first to ask, how can we help by our efforts at home, and by sharing our experience, our successes, and failures with our colleagues abroad, to bulwark the foundations of a world society in which man may live without fear?

The conference made a number of recommendations: "to send missions from countries where adult education is more highly developed to those less advanced; to organize visits, international summer schools, study tours; to arrange international seminars on vital and urgent problems; to speed up exchange of information."[4] The conference decided against recommending that an international organization outside of UNESCO be created and suggested that UNESCO serve, at least for the time being, as the link between national organizations and leaders in the field of adult education.

After the conference, a Consultative Committee on Adult Education was established to advise the UNESCO Secretariat and particularly the staff of the Education Division at Paris. The American member of this committee was Dean Herbert C. Hunsaker, of Cleveland College, who had also attended the Elsinore Conference.

Two major publications in addition to the summary report already referred to have been issued by UNESCO as a result of the conference's recommendations: a volume on *Adult Education, Current Trends and Practices,* was published early in 1950, and a draft edition of an *International Directory of Adult Education* was issued the same year. The latter volume is to be finally published when corrections and additions have been received from member states.

Two special seminars have been held since the Denmark meeting. One, on the role of libraries in adult and fundamental education, was held at Malmo, Sweden, in July and August 1950, and the other, on adult-education methods, in June and July of the same year near Salzburg, Austria. The two following selections give the highlights of these two seminars. The first is by Helen Steinbarger, a member of the American delegation to Malmo.[5] The second is by the U. S. Delegation to the Austrian meeting.

Dr. Cyril O. Houle, the dean of University College, University of Chicago, was named the director of the Seminar. He worked in close cooperation with Unesco staff members and with Miss Ingeborg Heintze, director of the Stadsbibliotek, and her staff. All meetings were held in this library, modern in its operational facilities, and adequately supplied with rooms for meetings of any size. . . .

Forty-eight delegates from 21 countries were in attendance. . . .

Democratic procedures were followed throughout the Seminar. After every plenary session held during the first week, questions were raised and general discussion followed. During this period, the entire membership considered the philosophy and principles of adult education, and agreed on this definition: "Adult education is an effort put forth by a mature person to improve himself by acquiring new skills, information, understanding, attitudes or appreciations, or the effort of an agency to present the opportunity and the encouragement to mature persons for improving themselves or their community."

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The diversity of interest, the positions held, and the type of library represented by the delegates, necessitated the division of the body into main discussion groups. These groups, in turn, were divided into committees and sub-committees to consider in detail questions which arose during the major discussions. All meetings were thought-provoking. If a statement was made, it had to be substantiated by citing cause, methods used, and results. The results of the deliberations proved to be rewarding.

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Under the leadership of Dr. Houle, assisted by Mr. Munn, Group I considered the basic character of adult education and the necessary essentials to the development, publicizing and evaluation of an adult education program in libraries where library services are reasonably well established.

A brief resume of the findings of this group will give the highlights of the discussion. It was generally agreed that the library is a center for research, aesthetic appreciation, recreation and education, and that all staff members have a part to play in the development of a successful program in any of these areas, particularly adult education. It was decided that formal education is not the function of a library but libraries should assist agencies conducting classes, or help agencies in establishing programs by loaning material and furnishing professional consultant services.

If a library has no adult education program and wishes to develop one, the need for a community survey was stressed, the plan always taking into account library resources, staff, printed materials, and budget. There should be both long-term and short-term planning. The first should define the scope and purpose of the over-all program, the second should define certain projects.

The necessity of an annual evaluation program was emphasized in order to determine success or failure; whether additional services should be developed or existing services curtailed; what the program involved in working with a particular group or individual; what influence the program had on individual or community thinking or action.

It was agreed that the net result of working with community groups, by reaching more individuals at their interest level, is an increased use of library materials and professional services. In addition, attention is focused on the library and this often encourages other agencies to plan programs which require library cooperation. It is important that librarians belong to community groups as individuals, and act as official representatives at meetings of others.

Although community involvement was stressed, work with the individual was given due consideration. In order to give competent reading guidance, it was recommended that librarians should have received special training, must know techniques and books, if they expect to raise the reading level of the reader to that having definite educational value. Courses in psychology and sociology were recommended as invaluable aids in understanding the reader and his needs.

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Mr. Lachlen F. McRae, chief librarian of Fort William Public Library, Canada, led Group II, which discussed types of audio-visual materials, methods of use, and their adaptation to a library adult education program.

It was the consensus that such a program falls within the scope of a modern public library, as these mediums are useful in education at all age levels. For this reason the librarian, whether he is able currently to use audio-visual aids or not, should have as part of his training a knowledge of their possibilities as an educational medium and the techniques involved in their use.

It was suggested that, because of the cost involved and because the popular appeal of films, etc., carries with it a certain danger to library standards, a survey should be made, applying the criteria accepted in planning the over-all adult education role. This will furnish information on "how effectively the community will be able to use audio-visual aids, what authorities outside the library are able to help toward effective utilizations and how heavy will be the strain upon the facilities of the library itself."

Members decided that library service in this field might fall within three categories:

1. A minimum program which a library of any size could and should follow. This would take the form of an effective community film information service.

2. A median program, sponsored by the library, which would include as part of the all-inclusive adult education programs the public showings of films, concerts of recorded music, radio broadcasts, etc. It would include number one, above.

3. A maximum program would include numbers one and two, with the addi-

tion of the circulation of audio-visual materials, with or without projectors, to individuals or community groups.

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Mlle. Yvonne Oddon, librarian of the Musée de l'homme, Paris (and formerly consultant in Unesco's Fundamental Project in Haiti), was the leader of Group III which discussed the establishment of library service as an aid to fundamental education in underdeveloped regions. This was a difficult and all-inclusive subject. From their deliberations came a number of significant recommendations directly addressed to Unesco. As the content of the first three form the first three of the recommendations submitted by the entire membership, these will be reported later. The others are as follows:

> (4) that Unesco should promote in consultation with librarians, the making and publication of every type of educational material, particularly simple reading matter for adults, both in local and official languages.
>
> (5) that a practical textbook on the making and use of educational material at the fundamental level, should be edited in cooperation with a library specialist. It should include such topics as simple recording, the making and use of slides and filmstrips, the use of museographic techniques and characteristics, and the choice and publication of typical adapted reading matter.
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> (6) that Unesco should recommend the inclusion of professional librarians on the national commission of each member state.

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Although little in this Seminar is new to librarians in this country, yet it was illuminating to realize just how new the findings were to those from many of the other countries. It is felt, quite conclusively, that changes will be made in existing programs, if any, and that new programs will be planned. The composite of the thinking and discussion during the Seminar is reflected in the following declaration and resolutions transmitted to Unesco headquarters in Paris:

> The Malmo Seminar records its conviction that public libraries can be and in some cases are, among the most effective agencies now existing for the continuing education of great masses of the people. The Seminar also recognizes the great potentialities of public libraries are too seldom realized and that in most parts of the world library services to fundamental and adult education are only now beginning or have not yet begun.
>
> This Seminar therefore recommends to Unesco that its program be expanded to allow for the promotion of public-library development on a much wider front, as required by the realities of the situation. To this end it specifically recommends:
>
> (1) that a course on library establishment, operation and development should be included in courses organized in fundamental education centers for the training of experts;
>
> (2) that, as a follow-up to the present Seminar, regional seminars or conferences of a limited number of librarians and other experts should be organized at intervals to discuss specific topics such as organizing library campaigns, rural library service in fundamental education areas, special training for fundamental education library service, and problems of wider library cooperation;

(3) that Unesco's fundamental education preliminary surveys and missions should not be launched without the services of a professional librarian who should remain until sufficient professional staff has been trained to carry on and supervise the newly formed libraries;

(4) the production of a film demonstrating the best public-library practices;

(5) the enlargement of the *Unesco Bulletin for Libraries* to include information on material issued by other sections of Unesco which might be used in library programs of adult education, and information on sources of national material available for circulation internationally, such as exhibitions, films, filmstrips, photographs, etc.;

(6) that Unesco promote the development of public-library adult education programs for immigrants and displaced persons.

The following excerpts deal with the Austrian Seminar.[6]

The seminar was an outgrowth of a recommendation made at last year's international conference on adult education at Elsinore, Denmark. Its purpose was an exchange of experience and ideas among adult educators of many lands on methods of adult education, with special attention to means of promoting international understanding.

There were fifty delegates from 19 countries. . . .

Director of the seminar was Sven Bjorklund, dean of the People's University of the University of Stockholm, Sweden. . . .

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The seminar was organized along the lines of the "work conference" which has recently become prevalent in the USA and other countries. Its core was four working groups which met every morning. In the afternoon there were workshops and at night either educational or social programs. Nearly every week-end there was a field trip or excursion. An excellent library contained many hard-to-get items brought by the delegates or borrowed from UNESCO's own library. The seminar governed itself through a general assembly and numerous committees. English and French were the official languages.

The four working groups were essentially discussion groups whose purpose was to exchange experience and seek points of agreement in four areas of adult education: (1) organization and administration, (2) intellectual and scientific training, (3) economic and social training, and (4) approach to the arts and the educational use of leisure time. Each delegate belonged to one of these four groups. They had from eight to 12 members and met daily.

The workshops were also discussion groups, but were concerned with more limited aspects of adult education: libraries, film production, music, popularization of science, and so forth. One or two of the workshops met throughout the

seminar. Others met only a few times, being organized to take advantage of the presence of some visiting expert. Most of them were small, say half a dozen persons, though the one on international understanding, organized by Shepherd Witman, attracted over twenty. They usually met twice a week.

The evening programs were both educational and recreational in nature, their content varying from a panel discussion on the Korean situation (which developed while the seminar was meeting) to an evening of folk-dancing. There were usually two evening programs each week.

There were perhaps a dozen plenary sessions. Like the evening programs they gave visiting experts a larger audience than could the smaller workshops, but their more important function was to give the members of each of the four working groups a chance to find out what was going on in the others.

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The general assembly was the legislative arm of the seminar. Its purpose was to set goals, to discuss and improve progress toward these goals, to hear and act on reports and recommendations. It met about eight times. All seminar members had the right to vote in the assembly.

The executive committee was the coordinating arm of the seminar. It attended to announcements, regulated the calendar, received suggestions, disposed of matters not important enough to go before the assembly, and reported more important matters to the assembly for action. It consisted of one member elected from each of the four working groups, one from the staff and one from the secretariat. It met daily.

The functions of the other committees are obvious from their titles or from the following parenthetical remarks: (1) Reception and Welfare, (2) Leisure Time (excursions), (3) Evening Programs, (4) Research and Reports, (5) Co-op (to start and run a store to sell necessities to the delegates, and (6) Publicity. The last-named commitee had four subcommittees to take care of: a mural journal (daily announcements), a newspaper, a "radio" program (produced, recorded and then "broadcast" over a public address system during the dinner hour), and press and public relations.

Several other committees were added in the course of the seminar: an evaluation committee to solicit the opinion of the delegates on the organization and operation of the seminar, a follow-up committee to propose means to help the delegates keep in touch with one another after the seminar, and four coordinating committees to collect the main points and recommendations which were appearing in the four working groups and to rework these for consideration at the final session of the general assembly. These four coordinating committees were concerned with, respectively: leadership training, cultural problems in relation to adult education, methods of adult education and the relationship between adult education and other levels of education, and means of promoting international understanding. The coordinating committees consisted of delegates chosen from

each of the four working groups. During the last week of the seminar the working groups were replaced by the coordinating committees.

* * *

The seminar made a number of recommendations designed to advance the world movement of adult education. Among the most important of these were resolutions calling for: (1) establishment of an international center for adult education and of as many regional centers as are found desirable, (2) collection of all significant experiments in training leaders for adult education, (3) preparation by UNESCO of a glossary of adult education terminology for use at future international meetings and a bibliography of books and materials on adult education, and (4) publication by UNESCO of a periodic bulletin on adult education.

The seminar also made several suggestions to international organizations and member states of UNESCO, urging: (1) exemption of educational activities and materials from taxation, (2) production and wide distribution of mass media materials and their free flow between countries, (3) termination of propaganda broadcasts, (4) development of language teaching programs, folklore organizations and tourism, and (5) establishment of closer relations between fundamental education and adult education.

Finally, the seminar approved a number of general principles which should guide adult educators: (1) While it is important for adult education to continue to help the individual increase his understanding, develop his creative powers, deepen his appreciation and enlarge his ability for critical thinking, it is equally important for adult education to help people solve the problems they face as citizens of their communities and of the world. (2) Although the adult educator must begin with the interests and needs which people consider important, he must accept the responsibility of building bridges from such interests to community and world needs. (3) Those who participate in adult education should share in determining the goals toward which they wish to work and the ways in which they will work. In any given community, the larger the proportion of the people who can be drawn into the adult education enterprise and the more representative they are of the various strata in the community, the greater are the enterprise's chances for success. (4) The progress of adult education programs should be continuously appraised. Mere numbers of people are no proof of success. The only valid criterion of success is that the changes at which the program aims are in fact being realized in action. (5) Progress toward the goals of adult education can be accelerated if adult education and pre-adult education join forces and work together. (6) Adult education must use the best leaders it can find wherever it finds them; they will often have to be given special training for their duties. (7) Adult education must use methods appropriate to adults and make full use of their interests and experiences.

* * *

In our opinion the single most valuable result of the seminar was the personal and professional friendships which were formed there. Through these friendships, through the program of the seminar, and through mutual visits and correspondence after the seminar, many of the delegates acquired a good deal of information about adult education programs in one another's countries, and indeed a deeper insight into adult education in their own countries.

The recommendations, suggestions and principles approved by the seminar and mentioned above should do much to advance national and international adult education movements if they can be carried out. A start was made at the seminar on the glossary of adult education terminology and the bibliography of books and materials. We have heard unofficially that the proposed international center for adult education has been approved by UNESCO and may soon be established in connection with the University of Paris.

Although production of documents was not a major purpose of the seminar, several useful ones came out of it, notably one on suggested methodology for future international conferences on adult education. The official report on the seminar is appearing in an early issue of UNESCO's *Occasional Papers On Education*. A film on the seminar was made there and will soon be released by UNESCO.

It is always hard to give proof of changes in attitude. But we could cite several instances of "conversion" on the part of adult educators who came to realize that their concepts of adult education were academic or outmoded and that other ways of doing things might bring better results.

We think it also worth mentioning that there were no instances of delegates voting as geographical blocs.

Finally we were pleased that those who planned the seminar followed the "work conference" pattern rather than the more traditional speech marathon which would have been easier in view of the language difficulties and in which some of the delegates would have felt more secure.

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There never was a conference without shortcomings and there never will be one. But only as we learn to recognize these shortcomings and eliminate them will we have better conferences. It is in this spirit that we make the following comments.

First, there was too much talk about adult education methods, not enough actual demonstration and practice of them.

Second, there was evasion of one of the important concerns of the seminar, namely means of promoting international understanding. Admittedly we don't know much about this. But we know more about it than we gave evidence of knowing at this seminar.

Third, we did not always practice what we preached. For example, Item 3 in the above list of principles states that the participants in an adult education pro-

gram should share in determining its goals and ways of working. The seminar gave lip service to this principle but was unable fully to carry it out in practice.

Fourth, we discovered that we have much to learn about how to conduct an international training seminar for leaders in adult education. There were serious failures in planning, communication, involvement of delegates, use of human and material resources and evaluation. Some of these failures can be charged in part to the language problems inherent in an international seminar and in part to poor cooperation on the part of some of the participating governments. Some must be charged to those who planned the seminar. Some must be charged to the simple fact that adult educators do not yet know enough about how to train leaders efficiently, especially in an international setting. Progress along this road was made in the production of the document "Report on Techniques of International Seminars in the Light of the Mondsee Seminar" and in the recommendations calling for a collection of experiments in training leaders for adult education and the establishment of international and regional centers for adult education.

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This seminar had some notable accomplishments. If the above recommendations aimed at eliminating its more serious shortcoming can be followed at future international meetings on adult education, then the seminar will have been a useful first step toward the improvement of international adult education meetings and the urgent task of training leaders of adult education in a world setting.

Other seminars sponsored by UNESCO have had important implications for adult education. Two, for example, have been held on education for international understanding, one in France in 1947 and one in England in 1948. Two seminars in 1949 dealt with illiteracy and fundamental education; one, held in Brazil, took up the problem as it affects the Americas, and the other, at Mysore, India, with the problems of adult education in the rural communities of Asia.

As an international organization, UNESCO must be concerned with the extension of opportunities for fundamental education to the more than half of the world's population currently illiterate. Accordingly, a large block of its resources and funds have been devoted to the development of training and development centers. One such center, already in operation at Patzcuaro, Mexico, is designed to train workers and produce materials for fundamental education in Latin America. Other centers are proposed for the Near East and Southeast Asia. Some Point Four funds have been made available to supplement UNESCO's budget for this program.

Another publication on fundamental education is produced by UNESCO in English, French and Spanish, and from time to time special monographs in this field have been made available. UNESCO's specialists and field teams have also been made available to provide authoritative information on methods, media, and

content for fundamental education under various geographical and cultural conditions. In this whole effort at fundamental education, the experience and technical knowledge of American workers, particularly in the field of Americanization and literacy work, can be of tremendous assistance.

In the draft of the UNESCO program for 1953-1954 is a recommended program in the field of workers' education. The two aims of the program will be to improve methods and techniques in workers' education by international means and to increase international understanding through workers' education. A series of seminars and courses dealing with the problems of workers' education has been scheduled, with follow-up meetings in the member states. In these projects UNESCO will cooperate with the International Labor Organization and International Workers Organization. This whole effort in the field of workers' education will be coordinated through an International Center of Workers' Education in Paris. Future developments will depend on evaluation and recommendations by the Consultative Committee on Adult Education.

With a total annual budget which approximates 10 million dollars, the amount of direct assistance which UNESCO can give in response to the manifold demands from 65 member states is obviously limited. Fortunately, its achievements need not depend on financial resources alone, although these should certainly be made more adequate than is now the case. It is appropriate to view UNESCO as a symbol of the faith still held in many parts of the globe that education, science, and culture can still be made to serve as powerful instruments in the achievement of world peace and security. More particularly, leaders in adult education in the United States can and should work with and through UNESCO to share with their colleagues in other lands whatever knowledge and skills will be of use in the solution of their national and regional problems. Conversely, from such interchange and intercommunication will come new learnings which are relevant to the solution of our own problems. In this view UNESCO thus becomes a bridge over which two-way traffic is maintained between and among professional groups with common interests, common purposes, and—to some extent at least—common problems.

The domestic arm and cooperating body for UNESCO in the United States is the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. This organization was established under provisions of the same law (Public Law 565, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, July 30, 1946) which authorized U. S. participation and membership in the international organization. The membership of the commission was set at not more than one hundred, appointed by the Secretary of State. Sixty of these were to be nominated for membership as representatives of principal national voluntary organizations interested in UNESCO. The remaining forty were to consist of not more than ten persons from the Federal government, fifteen representing UNESCO interests among state and local governments, and fifteen persons

chosen at large. The Department of State was authorized to provide a secretariat for the National Commission.

The function of the National Commissions in this and other member states is defined by Article VII of the UNESCO Constitution as follows: "National Commissions . . . shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organization and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it."

In fulfillment of this obligation, the U. S. National Commission has created, on recommendation of its Executive Committee, two major committees—one on program and one on activities in the United States. The Committee on Program devotes especial attention to the ongoing activities and proposed program of UNESCO, recommending to the commission the items in the program which should receive priority support from the United States delegations to the General Conferences of UNESCO. The Committee on Activities in the United States devotes primary attention to those efforts which the commission should promote, sponsor, and support in this country. Major items which have been identified as appropriate for commission activity in the United States have included (1) education about the UN system, (2) human rights, particularly increasing citizen understanding of the Declaration of Human Rights and the celebration of Human Rights Day in December of each year, (3) promotion of special activities, such as the UNESCO Gift Coupon Plan, educational reconstruction in war-devastated areas, etc. In addition, it should be noted that the commission's secretariat performs a wide variety of services to the UNESCO staff in Paris, including the collecting of information about American experience in relation to educational, scientific, and cultural studies made by UNESCO, arranging for the selection and briefing of United States delegations to international meetings and conferences, locating technical personnel for educational missions operating in various fields and in many sections of the globe under UNESCO auspices.

What does the work of the commission have to do with adult education? It is quite true that many of the national voluntary citizen organizations which have representatives on the National Commission do themselves have extensive activities properly called adult education. Some of the agencies discussed in Chapter 9 have been or are represented now on the commission. Such agencies as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and the American Association for the United Nations are clearly a part of the adult-education movement. But there are also many organizations in the commission which are not membership bodies and which do not have planned programs for the education of adults. Such agencies as the Modern Language Association, the American Society for Engineering Education, the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and many others are of this type. The role of the commission

in adult education has been studied by William L. Kimball in a thesis prepared for a Master of Arts degree at the University of California, Los Angeles. He states:[7]

The National Commission has been engaged in adult education as it attempted to recruit people for participation in UNESCO matters or to extend public understanding on these matters. In doing this, the National Commission was neither an old, well established organization, nor was it working alone in the United States. The National Commission necessarily operated within, upon, and with a vast and varied complex of social communication and influence groups; it also operated as a quite unique body in many respects.

There has been no comparable precedent for the National Commission in the experience of the United States. The National Commission entered the domestic arena as an official representative of a world intergovernmental organization. The U. S. Government was not experienced in this type of relationship since it had remained aloof from the League of Nations. Intellectuals and educators were not experienced in official dealings with international educational matters for the same reason. The National Commission was a quasi-governmental body, partly under the control of government but having a large measure of autonomy. The government had consulted with lay groups in the past concerning cultural affairs but only on an informal basis. The lay organizations were almost entirely inexperienced in legal relationships with governmental education, though they were familiar with government-administered programs. The National Commission must also be counted as an agency of social communication, one of the conscious agencies which has attempted to influence the adult mind in the United States. Its nature is somewhat unique here also. The adult education movement has been largely unorganized at top levels, has been strongly local, voluntary, and autonomous. There has been much voluntary coordination and collaboration at national levels, and some even at international levels, but nearly all has been informal and nongovernmental. The National Commission is unique in adult education as a cooperative body formed mostly at top levels and formally established by law.

The special place of the National Commission within the area of social communication and adult education can be further described. The Commission must be counted as a special interest group, even though its goals have been generally accepted; it has not been just a broad, general adult education agency such as the public schools or the libraries. The National Commission has been an unusually broad and representative body, even for a cooperative organization; besides involving many important adult education agencies, it has represented or contacted people in federal, state, and local government, in the mass media, and in special technical and scientific areas. The Commission thus has brought to-

gether those who advance knowledge, those who distribute it, and those who apply it. It apparently has been a well-equipped organization.

The nature of the adult education movement has created both advantages and disadvantages for the National Commission's work in this area. The breadth and variety of the movement have been an advantage in that more channels and approaches to people were available. There probably have been the disadvantages of duplication or rivalry with so many channels and approaches. The heterogeneity and local autonomy may have made it difficult for the National Commission to reach the grassroots and native leaders. Those most likely to be members of the National Commission, the heads of national organizations, government officials, and university people, were not always in the closest contact with local conditions. But local strength could be a tremendous advantage if the National Commission developed means for decentralization of contacts.

One of the dilemmas with which the commission has had to come to terms is peculiarly an adult-education problem. Being, as Kimball says, primarily a top-level body representing national organizations but realizing that to be effective in relation to its announced purposes it must stimulate grass-roots learning and activity, the commission has vacillated somewhat between placing major reliance on national organizations and promoting state and local UNESCO organizations. On the whole it has favored working through national organizations and the mass media rather than through field services direct to local organizations in local communities. This policy was dictated in part by the small size of UNESCO's budget and staff and in part by a desire to avoid both the reality and appearance of operations which might be construed as competing with those of member organizations. On the other hand, if UNESCO's program and that of the U. S. National Commission are to be successful, it must be a people's program, carrying with it widespread citizen participation, understanding, and support. It cannot be this if it must depend upon biennial national conferences reaching two thousand leaders as its only major avenue of direct, face-to-face contact with the people it is designed to reach.

Kimball identified five major channels through which the Commission has sought to achieve its purposes.[8]

INDIVIDUALS

The individual members of the Commission were an important channel of contact or education. They were expected to carry out the major part of National Commission activities in attending the regular meetings, in serving on committees and panels of the Commission, and in organizing and participating in the general UNESCO conferences. In addition to these activities, the members have been

valuable resources and agents in the Commission's adult education work. In their geographical region they were of assistance to interested local groups, communities, and organizations, including state and local UNESCO councils. Some members aided in establishing these local groups and served in them. Members also acted as individual adult educators in speaking, writing, or broadcasting on UNESCO subjects. They also aided in promoting local and national educational campaigns, including such events as United Nations Week and Day. Individual members aided in the education of special audiences through their membership in other organizations or through their profession or occupation.

To this must be added the activities of alumni members and of the Commission's secretariat. Former members have served in much the same way as regular members, except that they could not participate as members in Commission meetings and on committees. The secretariat has always been very active and helpful; the major difficulty has been that the Department of State was not able to employ a larger secretariat. However, the secretariat has prepared most of the National Commission official documents and reports, has served on the Commission's committees, has assisted national organizations interested in UNESCO, and has worked outside of Washington in the field, helping organize the regional and general conferences and advising and assisting the local UNESCO councils and commissions.

Organizations

National organizations, either those only interested and cooperating in UNESCO work or those which are "alumni" of the National Commission, as well as those organizations currently designating members to the Commission have been considered the basic channel in contacting the people of the United States. Those most important in this respect have been the general, nation-wide, nontechnical or nonspecialized organizations with fairly extensive public membership. . . .

As a whole, these organizations consistently reported from year-to-year a wide range of activities and varying degrees of activity in adult education. They were able to contact their membership through publications and meetings. They sponsored programs such as discussion groups, informal seminars, radio addresses, and fellowships or study grants. They also cooperated with other organizations, governmental units, state or local UNESCO councils, or the National Commission itself in national specific programs such as United Nations Day or the Food and People program. Activity ranged from very active organizations whose "complete report [on UNESCO activities] would run into volumes" to others who just requested advice for activities. It would be extremely difficult to measure even the quantity of this activity; a helpful clue is that such organizations could reach, in one way or another, approximately forty to sixty million people or about 50 per cent of the adults in the United States. They undoubtedly have spent millions of

dollars and distributed hundreds of thousands of articles and publications concerning UNESCO.

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Information Program

The public information campaign was one of the earliest channels set up by the National Commission. At the first meeting of the National Commission, in September 1946, it was recommended that a Committee on Information be established to ensure that the members of the Commission, interested organizations, and the public would receive continuous and effective information on UNESCO matters. In terms of adult education, the general program of public information included the activities of national organizations, independent agencies, and of individuals, as well as the work of the Commission's secretariat, other State Department Offices, and the Committee on Information and its successor in Commission committee structure. . . .

The policy of the National Commission has always strongly favored this channel. The specific policies for the information campaign were to use all available channels, including the Commission itself, mass media, organizations, and the meetings and conferences. . . .

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Valuable general publications included posters, pamphlets, leaflets, and small booklets, including many produced by the United Nations, UNESCO, other specialized agencies, or by private organizations whose work related to UNESCO Important examples of National Commission publications were *The Kansas Story on UNESCO*, which described some very active local work, and *UNESCO And You*, a pamphlet giving a six-point program for individual action. The Commission also published and distributed reprints of documents, speeches. radio scripts, or press and magazine articles.

Mass media material actually prepared by the National Commission included regular releases for radio and press and special materials. The National Commission has not had a regular radio broadcast, published a newspaper or a widely distributed magazine, nor of course, manufactured and distributed films for mass consumption. The regular news materials were a weekly radio news release, the *UNESCO World Review*, and the semi-monthly *UNESCO Features* to news, editorial, and feature services and to film producers and writers, with a monthly digest to four hundred weekly newspapers. The Commission also distributed clip sheets and other news materials to all members and to interested organizations.

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UNESCO Conferences

While the information program was a broad, general channel reaching the public, the general conferences on UNESCO sponsored by the National Commis-

sion were more of a concentrated, specific approach, although they were somewhat indirect. This channel was legally required, and through the general conferences the Commission has made personal contact with great numbers of interested organizations and indirectly, with whole states and local communities. This personal contact involved in a general conference was an important factor in stimulating participation in the UNESCO program.

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Local Councils

. . . These groups were in general patterned after the National Commission. They intended to provide coordination of the UNESCO work in their areas and to help stimulate new UNESCO activities. They took advantage of the existing community channels for such work and promoted some work directly themselves. One of the most active, the Kansas Commission, was unique as a broad, active organization in itself. Here many local, municipal, or county UNESCO Councils were formed as members of the State Commission. In 1950 the Kansas Commission reported as members thirty-eight county UNESCO Councils, in addition to state organizations and private individuals.

Adult education by the active local groups throughout the country varied. The local UNESCO Councils aided local adult education agencies, such as the community organizations, local chapters of national organizations, public institutions—libraries, evening adult schools, municipal activities, and near-by universities, and the local mass media groups. Many UNESCO Councils, on their own initiative, promoted discussion groups, conferences, forums, study groups and other aids to education about UNESCO for the adults of their areas.

In 1950, six states, California, Kansas, Michigan, Oklahoma, Utah, and Washington, reported continuing state councils. Six New England states functioned under the New England Committee for UNESCO. Four states in which councils had been previously organized were reported to have lost strength. Two new states and the Territory of Hawaii (1949) reported action indicating preliminary steps towards forming UNESCO Councils. In addition to these formal state groups, there were a number of local UNESCO Councils, both within the states having a state council and in other states. Five additional states reported such activity in 1949.

From this brief description of the work of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, it is apparent that its adult-education activities are numerous. Its concentration on world understanding and interpretation of efforts at international cooperation in the fields of education, science, and culture is urgently needed if citizens in this country are to play well the part in the world scene which events have cast. The fact that much of the work of the international UNESCO organ-

ization is directed toward underdeveloped and educationally underprivileged sections of the globe makes even more important the interpretative and educational role which the commission has undertaken. What cannot be learned about through direct experience must be understood by vicarious means, and these the Commission has sought to supply. Its effect can and should be improved by the active collaboration of other agencies in the adult-education movement and by the best consultant help which can be made available.

PART THREE

Ways and Means

THE STUDY of adult-education activities in the United States as organized by major institutions and agencies (the approach used in Part II) should be counterbalanced with an analysis of the major problems and concerns which are, or should be, of central importance to all these agencies. Institutions and agencies of adult education are means, not ends in themselves, and, granted some kind of philosophical common denominators, the methodological problems faced by each agency will include the topics listed as chapter headings in Part III. Moreover, whatever the agency or auspices under which a specific adult-education activity operates, its effectiveness in terms of its impact on individuals and groups of individuals will depend on the ingenuity and skill with which problems of planning, materials, methods, leadership, etc. are solved. All of these represent important elements in the development of an effective program, and each is interrelated with the others. The reader should bear in mind that examples and selections used in this Part will inevitably involve reference to specific agencies of adult education, such as those identified in Part II. The primary emphasis, however, will be placed on the usefulness of these examples in throwing light on the problems of coordination, methods, materials, etc. as these exist in every agency concerned with adult education.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES: PROGRAM PLANNING AND COORDINATION

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THE EMPHASIS THROUGHOUT THIS BOOK upon the social significance and relevance of the adult-education movement will help to explain the crucial importance of this chapter on program planning and coordination of community resources. Unless the total effect of our combined efforts in adult education produces not only a better informed citizenry but one whose members are willing and able to work with their neighbors in the solution of common problems, the adult-education movement will not long remain a potent social influence. For most people this process of cooperative problem-solving will go on at the neighborhood and community level. The environmental influences and forces over which he has some measure of control will be there. Most important of all, the results of his efforts and those of his fellow citizens can most easily be measured and evaluated in terms of the extent to which they have contributed to the meeting of basic human needs and the enrichment of community life.

The planning of programs which will effectively serve these major purposes cannot proceed intelligently except in relation to the needs and resources of the groups for whom, and with whom, the programs are designed. Hence in this

chapter these two topics—planning and coordination—are treated as different facets of the same methodological problem.

The general dimensions of this problem are well defined by the two selections which follow, the first by Howard McClusky.[1]

The Adult Education movement is vigorous, sprawling, and amorphous—vigorous because it originates in basic human need; sprawling because it is the function of widely diverse agencies; and amorphous because, springing from an extensive range of human interests, it lacks an integrating focus. A certain amount of formlessness will always be inevitable in an adequate program of adult education; any attempt at inflexible integration would certainly rob this enterprise of the vital adaptability necessary to its growth. On the other hand, mere formlessness is no virtue, and in this age of swiftly moving socio-economic change formlessness may drift into weakness and futility.

Adult education, therefore, should acquire some design. For the United States, at least, the basis of this design may be found in the overwhelming need for the increasing discovery of the democratic way of life. Our own domestic difficulties and the challenge of the totalitarian nations leave us no alternative. But the consumer of adult education, the common man, however loyal he may be to the idea of democracy, can no longer be satisfied by merely listening to harangues on troubles abroad or complex problems at home. He, at least, must begin with the every-day life of his own community. He needs to understand this life in all its local and remote relationships and he also needs to participate actively in creating conditions whereby democracy has some tangible meaning. Adult education, therefore, must begin with the neighborhood. The focus of the program should be the enrichment of community life and the solution of its problems.

A comprehensive program of adult education should serve the interests of the *entire* community. It must avoid the clamor of special interests, going beyond the habitually vociferous for publicity, and beyond traditional leadership for support. Potentially, it must be accepted by all groups and must be as universal as possible in its appeal. Adult education, therefore, is too large for any one agency. It requires the combined planning of all organizations, and the coordinating service of some general group responsive to every nook and cranny of the neighborhood, continuously investigating, planning, and acting in the interests of the community as a whole.

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An examination of the sponsors, financial contributors, and leaders in many community organizations will reveal a disquieting repetition of names. In most cities accurate data on this fact remain to be collected, but an intimate knowledge of a majority of neighborhoods readily confirms its validity. In a well-known

town of about 5,000 population in southern Michigan a rapid survey revealed that about eighty per cent of the leadership and support of the community agencies could be traced to about fifty prominent citizens. What does this fact mean? In the first place, a relatively small number of people are over-solicited for funds for worthy enterprises. In the second place, the lay leadership for these various enterprises is so overburdened and diluted that much of its effectiveness is lost. In the third place, the resources for support and leadership outside this group in the community at large are relatively unexploited. And, finally, because the bulk of community leadership is in the hands of this relatively small collection of individuals, the larger outside group, which composes the mass of the people, grows flabby and irresponsible in the service of the community. If, in a city of 3,000 people, one hundred citizens manage all the civic projects, why should the remaining 2,900 bother about them?

A superficial reaction to the fact of so much interlocking sponsorship of community projects is the impression that there should emerge out of such a situation some degree of co-ordinated planning. To some extent the opportunity for such planning is present, but, as a matter of fact, very little co-ordination results. On the whole, the leaders plan and act in terms of the interests of the agency they represent and not in terms of the community as a whole. A realistic analysis of the situation confirms this viewpoint and makes one wonder not that more collaboration does not occur, but that there should be as much as there is.

Not only duplication of support and leadership results as a consequence of unplanned community effort, but also duplication of programs and activity. An excellent illustration of this point is contained in the experience of the Extension Service of the University of Michigan. It is not at all uncommon for this office to receive invitations for the services of the same lecturer from two or more organizations in the same town, requesting a presentation of the same or related topics. An analysis of the membership and probable audience of the organizations presenting these requests will reveal, in some instances, a considerable amount of overlapping. In other words, if the Extension Service did not exercise caution in the allocation of speakers, some adults in these towns would listen to the *same* lecturer discuss the *same* topic before different organizations within a period of a few months. Too often the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing in the planning of programs.

Another uneconomical aspect of the inco-ordination of community activities is the waste that arises from unrelated timing of projects. A shrewd business man, who is a member of the board of directors of at least ten community organizations, was heard recently to remark that at least five of the agencies which he was serving were at some time in their recent history planning to promote the same kind of activity. The shocking fact was that none of these organizations was planning the same activity at the same time. Mere concomitance is obviously not enough. Simultaneous planning is not necessarily correlated planning. But unity

of effort on the part of different organizations is certainly possible only when these efforts are carried on at the same time.

One dismal outcome of the failure of organizations to think of the community as a whole is the tendency to promote competitively the interests of the organization as an end in itself. This frequently turns up in the relationship of agencies in councils of social work. Allocations of funds are made in terms of the number of people served. People are, therefore, herded into programs of activities regardless of their presence in other comparable programs, or regardless of the significance of the activity for the person or the community. This trend also appears in lay organizations. Some civic clubs are so intent upon impressing the community that they will conduct ardent campaigns featuring some dramatic project, not only for the sake of the cause, but also because the sentiment attached to the cause will give the name of the sponsoring organization widespread publicity. Still other groups will be so competitive in their outlook that they will view overtures to combined endeavors with suspicion and resistance. Fortunately this trend is not universal, but it is common enough to betray the flimsy basis on which so much community effort is founded.

Finally, the hyper-activity of some groups and the complete neglect of other groups demonstrates one of the most paradoxical contrasts in the community scene. A common exercise on the part of those engrossed in community activities is to rehearse with evident pride a long list of community enterprises. The implication is that the town already has a formidable array of achievements to its credit. When some doubt is expressed, a roar goes up to the effect that the town is already over-organized and that anything new would be excessive. The most common statement employed to express this attitude is, "It is almost impossible to find a night in the week when something isn't going on. This is the most over-organized town in this part of the state." This kind of talk betrays how far the community "busy-bodies" are out of touch with the rank and file of the neighborhood. This type of person is prone to overlook the great majority of people who have few rewarding contacts with social and cultural agencies, people with limited means whose potential interests have never been uncovered, who digress easily into the accessible and standardized forms of leisure time activities. These people, living far below their level of adequacy, often have vital needs; needs for advice in more efficient home management, counsel in the care of children and the economic purchase of goods, and guidance in the selection of better forms of recreation. But their needs are missed in the whirl of existing activities.

Proof of this neglect and paradox is contained in some interesting investigations of the index of participation in community life. The procedure of these studies is relatively simple. From the membership file of all organizations in a town a composite list of names is compiled. This list is compared with the total number of adults in the community. In a certain "over-organized" town, where "every night in the week is taken," only 34% of the total adult population belonged

to one or more organizations, while 66% belonged to no organization. Of this 34%, a great number belonged to only one organization, while a small number belonged to many. These specific figures may not apply to every community, but they probably represent a trend in community participation that is rarely understood by the active "busy-bodies" who "run" the town. In spite of the fairly respectable list of community enterprises and the apparent rush of card playing by afternoon and dancing by night, a realistic view of the whole community does not justify the smugness of the "elect," nor does it obscure the neglect existing in the neighborhood.

The second selection is from an article by Bertrand L. Smith:[2]

Adult education should have as one of its major goals the planned coordination of community group efforts. This is true for a number of reasons. First, only thru such community awareness of itself as a community can adult education function with maximum efficiency. Second, cooperative group activity directed toward the solution of common problems is essentially democracy in action, and the proper objective of education should always be the furtherance of democratic living.

However, the task of securing such coordination of community efforts is a difficult one. . . .

How well do the hundreds of organizations in a typical community deliberately coordinate their efforts in meeting the real needs of all the people? As W. M. Campbell clearly pointed out in the December [1942] issue of the [*Adult Education*] *Bulletin*, the great number of organizations in a community may lead to "community disorganization and difficulty" unless some means for promoting coordinated action is developed. Studies of community groups in action indicate the large number of community groups and the great lack of community coordination.

Suppose you try the following simple experiment to demonstrate to yourself the multiplicity of organizations in your local community. Make a diagram of major community subgroups, in the form of a wheel, with "coordinated action" as the hub, and . . . [eight] sectors: (*a*) educational agencies group; (*b*) religious agencies group; (*c*) local, state, and national governmental agencies group; (*d*) social and civic service agencies group; (*e*) labor and employees group; (*f*) business and industrial group; (*g*) professional, patriotic, and fraternal group; (*h*) . . . other community subgroups. Take a city directory or the telephone book and make a list of all the community organizations which you can locate. Then classify each organization under one of the eight major community subgroups given in the diagram. You will have to place the organization in a subgroup by deciding in which group an organization has its major function. By doing this you

will gain a rough but clear picture of the amount of duplication and lack of coordination found in most communities.

If you live in a community with a population of 10,000 or more, the chances are that you can expand your list of organizations until the total reaches into the hundreds. It is probable that many of the organizations are unaware of the existence of the others. It is almost certain that numbers of the organizations are not well enough acquainted with the functions, policies, and programs of others in the list to permit coordinated group action. This picture will make some of the problems of developing adult education in communities extremely clear. The absence of a deliberate coordination of the efforts of groups in many communities may be traced to two conditions. First, community leaders have not had a knowledge of the real needs of all the people which they could have thru using a systematic plan for determining needs. Second, leaders of community organizations have not used a systematic plan for keeping acquainted with the functions, policies, and programs of other community groups. If these conditions are responsible for less coordinated action, we then need to develop plans that will make it possible for needs to be more systematically determined and for organizations to be better acquainted with each other's programs.

By making the experiment suggested above, you have not only seen more clearly the usual lack of community coordination, but you now have a plan which you can follow in making a preliminary study of the organizations in your community. Such a study, which does not need to be too elaborate, is basic to any efforts to develop community coordination. This study can be carried as far as an individual or committee cares to go. It provides a framework for asking many community agencies to describe the services which they render. These descriptions may be used in building a service directory which will make it possible for each organization to become acquainted with the function of every other organization. Finally, these descriptions will help the many organizations see more clearly the need for them to work closely together.

From this preliminary study of community organization can grow a continuous community inventory. Such an inventory is the best means for discovering the needs of the people on a communitywide basis. A community inventory is a systematic, continuous study of the utilization of the human and material resources of a community carried on for the purpose of determining the unmet needs of all the people.

What are the potentialities for functional adult education in the deliberate coordination of community group efforts? Adult education is essentially a process in which adults solve community problems by systematically determining needs and then meeting these needs thru coordinated group action. This kind of adult education is broader than the more formal classroom or vocational shop kind. Such formal adult education classes are contributory to the basis of adult education—id est, the cooperative solving of problems and the resultant individual and

group learning. After community educational needs are determined and understood by the community, formal subject classes can be used to meet these needs. Such a program of cooperative community action to solve common problems provides opportunities to apply what has been learned in formal adult education to the solution of real problems. Perhaps the deliberate coordination of the efforts of the community groups in meeting the real needs of all the people is the kind of action which represents the final goal of adult education—adult education which is as big as life itself.

The Committee on Community Organization of the American Association for Adult Education made a report in 1948 which defined community organization "as something people do when they try to balance their community needs with their community resources." Two things are involved: "(*a*) correlation or 'inter-organization' of the activities of many community agencies and groups; (*b*) active participation on the part of people in the solution of problems of common community concern."[3] At a later point in the report, the Committee states, ". . . the establishment of a closer relationship between community organization and adult education will be to the mutual advantage of both. . . . Community organization requires skills on the part of persons which they do not have, at least to the degree desired. This calls for learning. Some of the needed learning will result through the activities of the participants without any deliberate teaching but can be increased by the careful application of adult education."[4]

The specific ways in which adult education can make a contribution to community organization are then spelled out as follows: Adult education can help community organization (*a*) by improving the ability of the local citizens to identify their community needs, (*b*) by improving the ability to identify resources, (*c*) by improving techniques for group action, (*d*) by improving the ways in which personal needs are met through community activities, (*e*) by improving techniques for intergroup relations, (*f*) by improving the ways in which basic information is made available to all citizens, (*g*) by improving the techniques for continuous evaluation, (*h*) by increasing the general level of understanding in the community, and (*i*) by supplying a reservoir of active participants in community organization.[5]

The gap between existing services and a community-wide program of adult education cannot be closed without more efficient coordination and use of community resources than is characteristic of present efforts. The adjustment and harmonizing of diverse and sometimes conflicting programs to the end that the greatest good of the greatest number may be served constitute a complex process which calls for qualities of leadership and cooperative techniques of the highest order. Nevertheless, it is precisely in this kind of planning process that the best opportunities are provided for training and experience in the basic meanings of

democracy. To compromise and reconcile diverse purposes, to fit into one mosaic the separate and autonomous units of the total educational effort in the community, to discover the areas of need which have not been met by existing services, to tap unused resources for meeting these needs is to accent those processes through which democracy, of all systems, best serves the common good.

It is well to point out here that the processes of coordination work best in a community atmosphere of good will, mutual confidence, and neighborliness. Moreover, coordination implies the existence of programs which are already serving at least some of the educational needs of some of the adults in the community. Coordination does not imply domination by a central planning body or the superimposing of one program upon another. It does not even mean necessarily that programs which overlap in their purposes and clientele must be modified. In some areas duplication and multiplication of effort are devoutly to be wished. But in a coordinated, planned program of community-wide adult education such duplication should be purposeful and not accidental. The forest should not be ignored in the tangential concern for specific trees. It is no exaggeration to state that the philosophy of adult education outlined in this book cannot be applied without the use of the cooperative techniques involved in the coordination of community resources and programs.

The instrumentalities which have been developed for the coordination of community resources take many names and forms. Some are limited in purpose to the interests of professional workers in a specific field—for example, juvenile delinquency, housing, or research. Others, such as the coordinating councils organized at the close of World War I, were designed "to strengthen the hands of every Federal agency, and to weld together in understanding and sympathy and unity of purpose and effort the work of all forces operating in each community."[6] Many of these councils were short-lived or too narrowly conceived to contribute much of lasting value to the subject of this chapter. World War II brought a new vitality to the field of community organization and planning, and it is this resurgence which is of particular significance to the field of adult education.

Noteworthy in the present trend is the inclination to break down the barriers which heretofore have only too often compartmentalized community planning into economic, political, and educational areas. Physical planning for postwar community improvements is now recognized in many communities as a process requiring an extensive program of adult education for better understanding of "whys" and "hows" on the part of the lay citizen. Winning support and understanding of proposals for world organization to keep the peace is seen to be an educational job which is part and parcel of the larger tasks of developing an informed public opinion on domestic economic policies, race relations, and social security. Nor can any of these tasks justify ignoring the less glamorous responsibilities of the citizen for the improvement of living conditions and standards in his own neighborhood and town.

These pressures and others have led to the organization of many citizens' groups, variously called community councils, civic councils, coordinating councils, citizens' unity committees, postwar planning councils, councils for peace planning, citizens' councils, and so forth. In structure these groups are not fundamentally different from the council groups organized after World War I or during the years preceding World War II. It remains to be seen whether the driving force behind these more recent efforts at community planning and the coordination of community resources will prove powerful enough to resist apathy and inertia.

The purposes of council organization vary somewhat, but the following are typical commitments: "to prevent overlapping and waste effort," "to promote general cooperation," "to promote a total educational program for adults and youth," "to mobilize and coordinate the social and economic forces of the community to the end that the city and county may make the most efficient use of their resources for the maintenance of a stable and enduring prosperity."

To achieve these high-sounding objectives, the council organization must have a fairly detailed and comprehensive picture of existing programs and resources; knowledge of, or ways of discovering, the areas of greatest need in the community; and facilities for the stimulation or development of programs to meet these needs.

Councils are born from experience with wartime defense councils;[7] through the interest and leadership of an individual or a group such as the local P.T.A. or American Legion Post; because of good school-community relations; or in response to some immediate need revealed by a community survey, forum, or discussion group.[8] Wise sponsors take care to make the council as representative of the varied interests in the community as possible, making particularly certain that labor, consumer groups, young people, and ethnic and minority groups are represented. Members of the council may be selected as official delegates of cooperating organizations, at large, on the basis of special merit, or as unofficial representatives of various interest groups. A combination of these methods of selection can be used to good advantage.

Most community workers experienced in council organization recommend that the council organization should be kept as simple as possible.[9] In larger communities an executive committee should be selected to give direction to the work of the council. Working committees can be appointed to carry out specific assignments. . . . Each community must work out its own pattern, making such adaptations from experience as the local situation may permit.

One example, among many which might be cited, of the "do's and don't's" of council organization is provided in the following selection from a mimeographed publication of The University of Nebraska:[10]

I. General Purpose of a Community Council

The community council is an over-all co-ordinating body on which all civic-minded groups within the community are represented. It seeks to enrich community life by performing desirable functions which do not fall within the scope of existing special-interest organizations.

II. Functions of a Community Council

A. It provides an opportunity for all elements of the community to sit down *together* periodically for a discussion of common local problems.

B. It promotes the coordination of all community activities by serving as a clearinghouse for dates and information.

C. It studies the respective areas of community life (educational, economic, recreational, religious, et cetera) from the standpoint of adequacy, and notes those areas in which a need for improvement is apparent.

D. It stimulates the special-interest organizations of the community to develop programs to strengthen the areas in which improvement is needed, and serves as a resource agency through which these organizations may receive suggestions.

E. It may sponsor specific projects in the community, but this should normally be done only where no special-interest organization is in position to do the job.

III. Facts Worth Remembering

A. Your community council should not be permitted to become "just another organization." It is a unique body whose primary purposes are to coordinate diverse efforts, to analyze community needs, and to stimulate community action. Where the sponsorship of special projects is undertaken by the council this should not be done at the expense of its broader functions.

B. Every community council (and each committee within it) should grow out of a recognized community need. Don't organize a council or a committee unless it "makes sense" in your own local setting.

C. Don't permit any single individual or group to dominate the council. It is the *inter-group* agency of your community and should remain such.

D. It is desirable for your council to lay a long-term program covering pertinent phases of your community life. However, don't get too many irons into the fire at one time. Start with a job which everyone recognizes as important and do the job right.

E. If your "community" includes both farm families and town residents, be sure that both elements are adequately represented in the council.

F. Adequate publicity should be given to the work of the council so that the community may know what is going on. Only in this manner can public interest, so vital to the success of this organization, be maintained.

IV. How to Organize a Community Council

A Community Council should be adapted to the characteristics and needs of the individual community, and since no two communities are alike, there are probably no two councils which should be identical in structure and function. No detailed blueprint can therefore be given for a council which would be suitable for all communities. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to outline certain steps which often are taken in the organizing of a community council and to present a sample constitution for consideration by communities interested in this subject. It should be kept in mind, however, that these proposals are merely suggestive and subject to variations in accordance with local problems and needs.

A. *Preliminary Meeting.*—A logical first step in the formation of a community council is the calling of a rather informal get-together on the part of all interested individuals for the purpose of talking the idea over. If the consensus of this group is that a community council would meet a real local need, a temporary committee of about three individuals should be chosen to draft and send out a letter to each local civic-interest organization (Chamber of Commerce, Lions Club, Woman's Club, the various churches, Farm Bureau, public school, village council, and similar groups). This letter should explain briefly the nature and purpose of a community council and extend to each group an invitation to send a representative to a meeting scheduled on a specified date for the purpose of considering the establishment of a community council.

B. *Organizational Meeting.*—If the response of the various groups is favorable, the delegates assembled should organize themselves into a community council, choosing a temporary chairman and secretary as well as a committee to draft a constitution for consideration at the second session of the council. It would also be well at this organizational meeting to appoint a committee to begin a study of the problem which appears to be in most urgent need of attention in the community. It is important that creative work be started by the council as soon as possible.

If, on the other hand, the response of the respective groups does not warrant the formation of a community council, the group assembled might wish to appoint an independent committee to investigate the community's No. 1 Problem, whatever it might be, and plan a program of action to solve it. This committee would be responsible only to itself and would disband when its work had been accomplished.

C. *Second Meeting of the Council.*—At this meeting the most important task will be to act upon the recommendations of the committee which was appointed to draft a constitution for the Council. Upon adoption of a formal structure, the permanent officers should be chosen and such additional committees established as are needed. Any time left over should be devoted to a discussion of problems which lie ahead.

The actual job record of the community or coordinating council will depend on the vitality of its leadership and the extent to which cooperative endeavor is commonly practiced by the community agencies involved. Some councils are content to sponsor occasional forums or discussions groups at which problems of general community interest can be considered. Others take the coordinating task seriously. A survey of one community, for example, revealed 41 organized groups in a town of 3000 population giving attention to the "youth problem." The maximum possible number classifiable as "young" certainly did not exceed 1200, persons of whom not more than 20 percent were being reached by any of these independent and unrelated efforts. It is this kind of inefficient overlapping and inadequate coverage that a good council can ameliorate.

When community surveys reveal needs which are unmet by existing programs, the council is faced with the necessity of deciding whether to go beyond the coordinating stage into the area of planning and perhaps of program operation. There is certainly a trend now evident toward the assumption by councils of planning as well as coordinating activities.[11] Currently active councils report coordinating and planning activities in such widely diverse fields as operating a speakers' bureau, sponsoring radio programs, supplying films for meetings of member agencies, operating a rumor clinic, maintaining a clearinghouse of available educational services, keeping a community calendar, developing a hot-lunch program in the schools, operating leadership training institutes.

In this treatment of community coordination, no mention has been made, thus far, of the role and function of adult education councils, but it is nevertheless apparent from the preceding discussion that virtually all the functions of a community or coordinating council require the use of educational programs and procedures. Actually, in the smaller towns and rural areas of the country there are few adult-education councils, for the obvious reason that so specialized an approach to coordination would defeat its own purposes. All the functions of such a council can be performed far more efficiently by an adult-education committee of a county or town community council.

There is considerable justification, in fact, for questioning the wisdom of specialized adult-education councils in any community which has a more broadly functioning community council except possibly in the largest metropolitan centers of the country. For example, A. A. Kaplan, in his doctoral study, *Socio-economic Circumstances and Adult Participation*,[12] concludes that in the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, the existing Adult Education Council should be replaced by a more broadly representative Community Council in which delegates of Neighborhood Councils would participate. These Neighborhood Councils would serve as advisory boards to the Neighborhood Centers administered by the Bureau of Adult Education of the Public Schools.

A 1945 directory of adult-education councils lists a total of 48 organizations, 13 of which are statewide or regional and 35 of which are county or city councils. In her study of adult-education councils in the United States,[13] Ruth

Kotinsky argues that "there is real place and ample room for the adult education council . . . within the broader outlines of community organization."[14] Whether the functions of the adult council could not be discharged equally well within the framework of a community council is a question the answer to which probably depends on local circumstances, but certainly the possibility suggested in the Springfield study referred to above should not be overlooked. The 1952 NEA survey of school-sponsored adult-education programs revealed that about half of the respondent communities did have community adult-education councils.

That there is considerable overlap in the description of functions of community and adult-education councils is indicated by the following selection from the adult-education survey of the San Francisco Schools.[15]

Successful adult education councils . . . have usually found it necessary to plan for the performance of several functions in order to serve their communities successfully. These functions may be summarized as follows: the exchange of full information about the resources, activities, and plans of all agencies involved; the ways in which present agencies may supplement one another's programs of service; the removal of duplication of effort by assignment of specific activities to the individual agency which, by experience, structure, and resources of personnel and equipment is most likely to meet the recognized need; the development of plans for a continuing study and analysis of new needs as they appear and for working out effective methods of meeting them; and the development of a joint publicity and public relations program which will inform the citizens . . . as fully as possible of the resources available to them.

° ° °

. . . it should adhere to the following principles: It should be composed of agencies rather than individuals. It should draw together the top administrative heads of the agencies concerned. The top administrators should plan ways to coordinate the activities of those at the lower levels of the organization. After points of relationship have been fully analyzed, routines should be established so that the time of the officials may be left free for the determination of broader policies. As far as possible, structural devices should be established to fit particular situations; some possible devices are: committees, memoranda of agreement, liaison officers, contracts for service, and joint personnel appointments. The coordination of specific activities should begin early before plans of individual agencies have become so crystallized that they cannot be easily changed. Opportunities should be provided for the staff members of the various agencies to come to know one another. As far as possible, all agencies which have an interest in achieving the objectives of any particular coordinated activity should help to plan it. Coordination should be carried out continuously and not left to such times as emergencies occur or difficulties are encountered.

It should be clear that coordination does not involve imposition of program or dictation by the coordinating body. There may be some external controls over the independent and autonomous action of important groups but these should result only after thorough discussion and voluntary action concerning the course agreed upon.

The opportunities presented to adult education by the rising tide of citizen interest in community planning and coordination are not to be denied. If these opportunities are seized upon by those who have responsibility for the administration of programs, a new era of extended and more fruitful service may come about. Adult education has been fettered by its identification in the popular mind with formal classes chiefly for the educationally underprivileged, the foreignborn, and those with specific vocational needs. In its new role as the handmaiden of community action programs looking toward the improvement of living conditions for all citizens and the enlightenment of every member of the community on the issues before us, adult education can through the coordination of resources already available in most communities, serve the common good more effectively than ever before in its history.

The specific steps by which programs of the type described in the preceding selection are planned and put into operation need more careful spelling out. Two levels of program planning are involved: (1) community-wide planning, in which preceding discussion on coordination of resources becomes particularly relevant, and (2) program planning within groups which carry on specific parts of the total enterprise.

Let us look at the first of these levels in terms of a series of questions which may help to identify the major policy issues involved.

Who Takes the Initiative in Planning the Adult-education Program?

All the basic elements for a successful program may be present in a given community and yet nothing in the way of an adult program need emerge. Resources and leadership are untapped; planning is haphazard and spotty. What is needed to weld these separate elements into a functioning program? How does the community get started—find a rallying point about which to organize and channel its unused energies and resources?

Bertrand Smith's article, already quoted in part, answers these questions as follows:[16]

. . . While all community agencies should participate in the program, some agency should take the lead and feel the responsibility for stimulating and sustaining such a program. Logically, this should be the function of "schoolboards" and

"school administrators" performing as "boards of education" and "educational administrators." It will be necessary, for this to be true, for many schoolboards and school administrators to rethink their interpretation of the scope of education. The people in a community will have to make it possible for schoolboards to become real boards of education by encouraging them to make provisions for education at all levels. Along with this encouragement will have to come the necessary funds for operating a broadened kind of educational program which would in no way lessen the effectiveness of education for children and youth.

The citizens of every community should ask themselves such questions as: Why should we concentrate our educational efforts and public funds on the first one-fourth of the life-span of our people when education needs to go on from the cradle to the grave? Why shouldn't we make it possible for the board of education to take the lead in coordinating the efforts of all community agencies that have an educative function? It looks as if adult education would grow by leaps and bounds in making it possible to prosecute the war more effectively. Much of the cost will be provided from federal funds thru the many agencies of government. Even with this boost for adult education during the war, it will be some time before local communities will make it possible for boards of education to provide well-rounded programs of adult education of the more or less formal kind.

Altho it will require time to establish, finance, and sustain a program of general adult education, there is no reason why any community cannot have its educational and other community leaders take advantage of the potential adult education values which a long-term program of developing coordinated community group action promises to provide. Very little expenditure, except in terms of much study and hard work, is necessary in carrying on such a program.

Let us seek a somewhat different answer to these questions raised before the preceding selection by looking at the recent history of Centerville, a village of 800 people in the heart of rich farming land in one of our midwestern states.[17] The town has four small industries and is the trading center for a surrounding area of perhaps 100 square miles. The people of the area are mainly of German and English descent. There are fourteen churches, two denominational schools, a public elementary and high school. Most of the students in the high school come from the surrounding rural area and are transported by school bus. The school buildings are in good condition; there is a combination auditorium-gymnasium for community gatherings and athletic events. Library facilities are inadequate, but some equipment, such as a motion picture projector, has been purchased.

A state committee on rural community high schools is organized to assist selected communities in the improvement of their respective school programs. Centerville is selected as one of the seven participating schools, and considerable

publicity attaches to the fact. Members of the state committee working with the school principal agree upon the development in Centerville of an experimental community service program for adults providing the support of the Board of Education and representative lay leaders in the community can be secured. A meeting is called to consider the proposal. The Education Committee of the Centerville Association of Commerce serves as a nucleus in the choice of delegates to be invited. This Committee heretofore had been chiefly concerned with the scheduling of free movies and special events to attract shoppers to the businesses of its members. Two representatives of this body also represent the Board of Education. Other members are the County Superintendent of Schools, three farmers from different sections of the rural area surrounding the community, and three housewives active in women's club work in the village.

To this committee the high school principal and representatives of the state committee outline possibilities for the development in Centerville of an adult-education program centering in the school. Members of the group are asked to estimate public reaction to such a program and the extent of need for it. No attempt is made to impose a pattern or plan, the decision being left entirely in the hands of the local committee. The school principal argues that an adult program would be of great value in interesting parents of nonresident students in the school. One of the housewives expresses the hope that a homemaking class might be formed; others express preferences for activities of a recreational nature. To launch the program it is agreed that first a series of monthly public forums will be scheduled, and a steering committee is appointed to plan such a series and to promote public interest and attendance. It is agreed that if the series is successful, those attending will be given the chance to indicate other types of activities which should be sponsored by the school.

A successful series is held, questionnaires are used to sample audience interests in other activities, and a beginning program of group activities is offered in shop work, health, typewriting, gym, and community recreation. The latter group eventually translates discussion into action by planning and physically accomplishing reconstruction and improvement of the playground facilities on the school grounds.

Generalizing from this illustration, we may argue as follows:

(*a*) *Programs begin when an event occurs that jolts the community out of its normal apathy and complacency.* In this case the selection of the village as a laboratory center served the purpose.

(*b*) *Programs get under way when one person in a community decides to do something about a community problem.* State committee or no state committee, Centerville would have had no adult program if the high school principal had not seized the opportunity which this event presented. His driving power and enthusiasm inspired the citizens' committee to favorable and supporting action.

Whether the initial move is by the high school principal or some other community leader is not necessarily of crucial concern.

(*c*) *New programs should be built upon what is already going on.* In this case the work of the Education Committee of the Commerce Association was not ignored, and responsibility for initiation of the new enterprise was shared.

(*d*) *Decisions on new programs should be made democratically.* This does not mean that full-blown plans should simply be ratified by committee action. Persons whose support is essential to the success of the project should be consulted early and suggestions made at committee sessions carefully weighed and harmonized.

(*e*) *Action should be taken one step at a time.* Ultimate objectives are important, but these can often be served best by concentrating on an immediately practicable program. In the case of Centerville, a well-rounded adult program was the ultimate objective; a community forum proved to be the practicable immediate goal.[18]

How Can Adult-education Programs Be Planned So As To Be Truly Representative of Existing Organizations in the Community and at the Same Time Reach Unorganized Members of the Community?

The answer to this question involves the most skillful compounding of the elements which make up a successful program of adult education. "Contrary to general opinion, most communities are *not* over-organized. . . . Actually, a few people are over-organized; most of the people *take no active part in any kind of organization*."[19] Jean Ogden supports this statement by citing a study of a southern county with a population of approximately 7000 in which 35 organizations were to be found—ranging from music-study associations to home-demonstration clubs. Fewer than 200 people comprised the total membership of all these organizations. In such a situation it is not enough to involve representatives of existing organizations in the planning of an adult program. Techniques and tools must be found for reaching the people not now identified with any existing community organization.

For our example of a community which has made unusually good progress both in identifying existing organizations with its program of adult education and in extending coverage to unorganized sections of the population, we turn to a medium-sized city of approximately 100,000 persons. Functioning through a Citizens' Unity Committee, staffed by the Board of Education, with subcommittees in charge of policies on specific aspects of the program, the Committee has reached every neighborhood in the city and at least registered every community organization.

The 56 members of the Citizens' Committee represent professional associa-

tions, the Chamber of Commerce, the local college, farm organizations, labor, welfare agencies, women's organizations, nationality groups, ethnic groups, churches, youth groups, and political parties. It cooperates with two other community-wide service organizations, the Civic Youth Council and a statewide Town Meeting of the Air. Five subcommittees of the Citizens' Committee deal with postwar planning, racial and class discrimination, program planning, organizational contacts, and films.

During a one-year period, with a paid staff of two supervisors and two assistants aided by volunteer workers, the Committee provided 484 meetings with speakers or films—attendance 98,549, or approximately the number of persons in the community; assisted organizations in program planning; conducted an institute for program chairmen; conducted a radio program once a week throughout the year; maintained a library of current materials on public affairs; conducted a campaign against racial and class discrimination; and enlisted 123 volunteer leaders and speakers in the service of education for the whole community.

What generalizations can be made from the experience of this community that will help us find the answer to the question that we asked at the opening of this section? How can programs be kept representative of the whole community and made to serve the whole community without domination of existing organizations and without overlooking the claims of unorganized members of the community?

(*a*) *Responsibilities for planning must be widely shared and participation of member groups encouraged through committee assignments and decentralization of management.* The five subcommittees in the program just described had specific jobs which probably would never have been done if the over-all committee of 56 members had retained direction of all the projects.

(*b*) *Some provision should be made for full-time, paid staff to coordinate planning and administer services.* The logical source of this assistance is the board of education, as in the case described here, although in other communities such personnel has been supplied by the public library, a college, the adult-education council, or, infrequently, by a citizens' organization.

(*c*) *Any attempt on the part of a central coordinating or planning committee to amalgamate or dominate member organizations will probably prove fatal to the whole project.* This does not mean that undesirable duplication of service cannot be eliminated. It does mean that the desire for recognition and prestige being what it is, any effort at regimentation through the consolidation of enterprises will probably be resisted.

(*d*) *There is a well-demonstrated need in most communities for centrally provided services to existing organizations*—for example, the collection and display of current materials in providing counseling help on program planning, in maintaining a speakers' service and film bureau, in arranging leadership training institutes. A service bureau can help to make existing programs more effective without organizing competing activities.

(*e*) *A good community-wide adult program will have something in it for everyone.* Through representation on a central planning committee of unorganized social and economic sections of the population, gaps in the programs of existing organizations can be identified. Nationality, ethnic, and political groups, for example, may need assistance in the development of educational opportunities for the largely unorganized constituencies which they represent.

How Can We Make More Certain That in the Planning of Adult-education Programs the Interests and Needs of the Persons for Whom the Programs Are Intended Will Be Taken into Account?

In its earlier stages, the adult-education movement in the United States borrowed methods and content almost exclusively from the elementary and secondary schools and from the colleges. As a result, instruction tended to be formalized and somewhat stereotyped. It was up to the adult to conform to the pattern; he could "take it or leave it," and for the most part he "took" it sparingly and "left" it as soon as possible. The newer type of community or adult-education center program, on the other hand, is more flexible and adaptable, covers a broader range of interests, and endeavors to take into account the recreational and cultural needs of adults as well as their vocational ones.

Various methods have been used to discover what these broader interests and needs of adults are and how in the organization of the adult school conditions can be created to make learning a pleasant as well as beneficial experience. Harvey M. Genskow, director of one of the outstanding adult centers of this newer type at Shorewood, Wisconsin, points out the importance of surveys to discover community interests and the need for a variety of offerings which will take into account the different intellectual levels in the community.[20]

Another approach to the problems of more adequately meeting adults needs is illustrated by the instruments developed at Iowa State College, in Ames, Iowa, by Dr. W. H. Stacy, of the Agricultural Extension Department. These instruments, in the hands of citizen planning committees or community councils, enable lay leaders to assess and evaluate various phases of community life and to arrive at some kind of community judgment as to the area in which improvement is most needed. Within each area a community-action checksheet is provided as the basis upon which a program of action can be recommended. (See examples of checksheets on pages 313, 314, and 316.)

The processes of working with specific groups in the community to plan programs are methodologically consistent with those that have just been reviewed for the community as a whole. The stepwise planning which occurs, however, differs in certain respects. Malcolm S. Knowles, for the introductory issue of *Adult Leadership*, has prepared a program-planning tool kit from which the following selections and suggestions are taken.[21]

? ?

WHAT CAN WE DO IN MY COMMUNITY?

? ?

Postwar planning aims to provide jobs, promote freedoms and expand the American way of doing things in local communities.

Thirty different phases of community life are distinct. These may be grouped in eight divisions as shown below. Although all are interrelated, they can be treated separately and for each a detailed checksheet is available listing desirable goals.

Check the following list to indicate the types of improvement which you think are most needed in your community.

_____ EDUCATION

_____ (1) Adult education programs
_____ (2) Elementary and secondary education
_____ (3) School buildings grounds and equipment
_____ (4) School staff and administration

_____ FARMING

_____ (5) Farm business
_____ (6) Farmer relationships
_____ (7) Conservation of resources

_____ GOVERNMENT

_____ (8) City planning and zoning
_____ (9) Local government administration
_____ (10) Protective services of government
_____ (11) Public social welfare
_____ (12) Veterans' services programs

_____ HEALTH

_____ (13) Nutrition and food supply
_____ (14) Organized health programs
_____ (15) Mental health programs
_____ (16) Prenatal care and child health
_____ (17) Sanitary programs

(Over)

The materials on this page and on pages 314 and 316 are reproduced from guides developed at Iowa State College by Dr. W. H. Stacey.

_____ HOMES

_____ (18) Family life programs
_____ (19) Housing and farmstead improvement
_____ (20) Rural homemaking group activities
_____ (21) Town women's group activities

_____ RECREATION

_____ (22) Community recreation facilities
_____ (23) Community recreation program

_____ RELIGIOUS LIFE

_____ (24) Church administration and equipment
_____ (25) Religious leadership and cooperation
_____ (26) Religious programs

_____ TOWN BUSINESS

_____ (27) Community hospitality
_____ (28) Industrial development
_____ (29) Retail trade
_____ (30) Service occupations

Remarks: ____

Name ____

Address ____

* *

<u>Postwar planning in the average community means</u>:

1. Having a few leaders "talk it up" with others.
2. Gaining the support of the town council and other responsible groups.
3. Holding a community planning conference bringing together leaders of all institutions and organizations.
4. Establishing a Community Coordinating Council to correlate and carry forward the program.
5. Organizing community action committees to obtain facts and develop programs.

Note: Thirty <u>Community Action Checksheets</u> are available from the Agricultural Extension Service, Iowa State College, Ames, which present reminders of things to be desired in each phase of community development listed above.

* *

If you have the job of planning big or little programs you will want to consider . . .

(I) Working with a Planning Committee

When a committee meets for the first time to work on a new problem, it helps to begin in a way which *orients* the members (*a*) to one another, and (*b*) to the common task which they have been brought together to perform. Some biographical bits from each committee member might be a good starting point, followed by a discussion built around the questions:

What are the ingredients of a good program?

What can each member of this committee (using his particular skills and experience) do to help build a good program?

° ° °

Before starting to build a program, the committee will want to consider ways and means of . . .

(II) Determining Needs and Interest

Program committees composed of people who are well acquainted with the membership often have a great deal of information about what their groups want. Nevertheless, it is always a good idea to start with some planned procedures to determine needs and interests. First of all, guesses by a few people can often be wrong. We are all tempted to think in terms of what people ought to have rather than what they *want*. In addition, asking people what they want involves them in the planning itself and gives them a stake in its success.

There are several ways of finding out what people need and want. For general information on the current interests of people, a little informal "research" can produce some good clues. Some simple procedures are:

(1) Watch your newspapers for a month and tabulate the subjects that receive greatest emphasis. (2) Talk with your librarian about what kinds of books and magazines seem to be most popular. (3) Exchange program announcements with other organizations like yours and see what is of interest to their members.

In determining the more specific needs of the people in your group there are of course many more direct avenues to information. Among them are:

(1) *Interviews*

° ° °

(2) *Informal conversation*

° ° °

(3) *A meeting census*

Ask the members to cluster into groups of six or eight. Each cluster should choose a spokesman, then take ten minutes to list their program choices. Then

(Reminders for Planning Committees)

Iowa Community Action Checksheet No. 1

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Your Community Score
A = Good B = Fair
C = Poor D = None

To be desired

1. All citizens voting intelligently in every public election ____
2. Timely information and educational discussions in the programs of:
   a. Luncheon service clubs - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
   b. Chambers of Commerce - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
   c. Women's clubs - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
   d. Parent-Teachers Association - - - - - - - - - - ____
   e. Church adult classes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
   f. Farm groups - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
   g. Labor groups - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
   h. Business and professional clubs - - - - - - - - ____
   i. ____ ____
3. Public library service providing reading material free for all - ____
4. Newspapers supporting adult education programs - - - - ____
5. Representative citizens cooperating through a community council to develop adult education programs - - - - - ____
6. Public forum program bringing leaders who stimulate and broaden interest in public affairs - - - - - - - - - - ____
7. Radio listening groups discussing public service broadcasts - ____
8. Vocational education available for men and women in city and country - ____
9. Avocational adult education programs provided which help adults develop hobbies and crafts - - - - - - - - - - ____
10. Program planning conferences held annually for program chairmen of local groups - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
11. Leadership programs providing training for leaders of community activities - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ____
12. Adult education integrated into a program of community development - ____
13. ____ ____

Recommended action: ____
____
____

Submitted ____________________ by ____________________
Date Committee members

each spokesman can report his list to a central secretary who compiles them into a master list. Interest can be increased by writing the list on a blackboard if one is available . . .

(4) *Registration cards*

Have them filled out when people enter. Allow space for indicating background and interests.

(5) *Suggestion or question boxes*

Place them where they are accessible to all and certain to be noticed.

(6) *Questionnaires*

• • •

By whatever method your group determines its needs and interests, from crystal balls to scientific sampling, the next step is . . .

(III) Defining Your Objectives

People and groups always get farther when they move towards clear goals or objectives. A little time spent by the planning committee in defining the objectives of the group can do much to save confusion and increase the quality of the product when it begins, later on, actually to build its program.

Many organizations have stated objectives. These objectives, in combination with those that come from information on the needs and interests of the members, form the outer and inner bounds of the group's objectives. In the actual operation of groups these objectives present themselves in an interwoven network so that some of them may become hidden from plain view. A helpful means for unjumbling the many possible objectives is to classify them into:

(1) Those based on the needs and interests of members as *individuals*
Such as:
To become a better parent
To develop better speaking habits
To make some new friends

(2) Those based on the needs and interests of the *group or organization*
Such as:
To increase our funds
To get more members
To develop better public relations

(3) Those based on the needs and interests of the community, the nation, or the world
Such as:
To learn about housing conditions in our city
To promote industrial peace in our state
To further international understanding

• • •

When you have formulated a set of clear-cut objectives, the next step is to determine ways for . . .

(IV) BUILDING OBJECTIVES INTO A PROGRAM

In discussing objectives, it has been necessary to anticipate the present section more than once. This is because there is an integral relation between objectives and program-blueprints. With objectives clearly stated, rated, and related, it becomes feasible to work on the several steps of program building without tripping over them as one goes. These steps can be seen as:

(1) *Breaking the objectives into program units. . . .*
(2) *Determining priorities and sequences among program units. . . .*

• • •

(3) *Determining program styles and methods*

There is no magic method for all objectives. Each method has unique virtues and is especially effective in accomplishing certain objectives. The most important thing to keep in mind is that *methods should be related to the objectives they are to serve.* The various methods produce varying patterns of participation among members, and other things being equal, the one which produces the most participation is preferable. Many of these methods can be used in combination and the most interesting and worthwhile meetings are probably those that combine several.

Here are some sample combinations. . . .

Objectives to Be Served	*Methods that Can Be Used*
To build fellowship	Group Singing—informal discussion
	Film—discussion
To present information and relate it to members' experience	Lecture—questions
	Informal dramatization—buzz groups
	Group interview—group reports
To bring out problems and relate them to facts	Workshop—field trip—reports
	Exhibit—buzz groups—discussion

(4) *Selecting and preparing resource people*

• • •

(5) *Making use of other resources*

Most communities and many organizations have rich sources of help to program planners. Local libraries are often clearing houses for information about such resources as books and pamphlets, slides and movies, speakers' bureaus, program consultants, charts, maps, and other visual aids, exhibits, collections, and discussion guides. *Adult Leadership* each month lists resources available to local program planners from national sources. Perhaps the most important thing

to remember in using resources is that they are *aids*, not teachers or programs, and should be turned to when they fill a need *already* felt by an individual or a group.

(6) *Rehearsing each meeting*

Whether you are going to have a panel, symposium, dramatization, or discussion, an hour or half-hour rehearsal the day before or the hour before pays big dividends. After all, who would go to a play, knowing the actors had never rehearsed?

(7) *Getting people to meetings*

This involves not only planning advertising—phone calls, newspaper notices, window cards, radio announcements, post cards—that will arouse interest in coming to meetings, but also interpreting what will happen so that people can see that it will give them what they want.

(8) *Planning for something to happen as a result of the meeting*

A good meeting (like the job of a good program committee) doesn't end when the room is empty and the lights are out. Advance plans have been made to insure that the meeting will continue in the thinking and action of people during the following weeks. This might mean suggestions for activities to carry out at home, or perhaps follow-up committee meetings.

Now that your program is planned you will want to give some thought to . . .

(V) Evaluating the Program

Program evaluation means determining how successfully the program has accomplished its objectives. How are the members reacting? What real changes are being produced? What has been learned that will help to make the next program better? Evaluation is in many ways the most educationally valuable part of program planning. It gives every member first hand experience in looking back objectively at what has happened and in looking ahead, now, at what should happen. [See Chapter 19 for fuller treatment of evaluation.]

Three methods of evaluation that may be helpful in measuring the immediate reactions of the group and in interesting the members in improving future programs are:

(1) *The end-of-meeting reaction slip*

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(2) *The after-meeting interview*

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(3) *End-of-meeting group discussion*

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Evaluation is a process that begins with objectives and ends with objectives. It is the process by which groups learn from their mistakes and continuously im-

prove their methods of operation. Evaluation is an integral part of the planning process and should be built right into it.

When a program has been planned, executed, and evaluated, the program planning cycle is completed. But, being a cycle, and not a line, evaluation becomes the tool for building better future programs.

The complexity of the modern American community and the disintegrating forces at work have weakened community structure and made increasingly difficult the discharge of those functions which in pioneer days were taken for granted. If the vitality of the community is to be restored, if it is to function again as the locale in which the basic needs of the individual are met and opportunities provided for him to take an active role in those cooperative enterprises which are the very essence of community, then the problems dealt with in this chapter must be faced and the challenge to adult education accepted. As we have pointed out many times in this book, adult education to be meaningful and significant must be concerned with helping people solve community and individual problems. If it is to do this, adult education must be developed on the basis of an intimate knowledge of the community, its people, their problems, and the groups in which much of the effort to solve these problems takes place.

In this chapter we have reviewed some of the ways in which the processes of community coordination and program planning can be used to achieve these ends. Obviously much has had to be omitted from this account. The techniques of community self-analysis and survey have been referred to only in passing. The ways in which advisory committees can be used to involve more and more lay citizens in the development and planning of adult-education programs might well be the subject of a chapter in themselves. (See chapter 7 for some discussion of advisory committees.) The whole problem of applying intelligent planning procedures to conferences and professional meetings is treated elsewhere in the literature of adult education and receives only brief mention here.

In spite of these omissions, however, the central problem has been identified and concrete action steps outlined by the application of which the techniques of community and group problem-solving can be improved. This, as has been indicated before, is one of the major and central tasks of the adult-education movement.

METHODS

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WHEN WE SPEAK OF METHODS, we are concerned with ways of doing things, of achieving desired results. A study of methods is intended to develop more effective procedures and techniques for accomplishing purposes. In a broad sense, method is involved in all adult-education activities. Workers in the field need to be concerned with good procedures in conducting surveys, in publicizing course offerings, in organizing conferences and workshops, and in a host of other activities. From this point of view all of Part III is concerned with the problem of method.

This chapter, however, is concerned with method in its more restricted and conventional usage. It is concerned with the procedures utilized in reaching goals through the use of instructional materials. This implies that method cannot be separated from subject-matter content. As Alfred Mueller has pointed out, "Method must operate on something. It is a way of employing material to some end."

It has been customary for those who write about methods to refer to them as belonging to the teacher. They are discussed as the procedures and techniques used by the teacher in order to accomplish his goals through the skillful manipulation of learning experiences. The authors object to this emphasis, for they feel that, at least in informal adult education, method is as much a province of the

group as it is of the teacher or leader. It is generally recognized that adult-education programs can hope to succeed only as they are geared to the goals and purposes of those participating. It is probably equally true that democratic procedure demands not only that groups should determine their goals but that they should have a major responsibility in determining the methods to be used in reaching them.

The point of view expressed above is supported by the following selection from Lindley J. Stiles:[1]

It is becoming increasingly clear that knowledges, attitudes, understandings, and skills necessary for living in a cooperative society are best developed in school situations which provide vital opportunities for democratic living. In formulating the theory of democratic interaction, Hopkins pointed out that in a democratic group the emphasis is upon cooperative social action. The way in which learning takes place, consequently, assumes more importance in the democratic process than do specific fixed end-goals. The social climate of a democratic group is one which provides for a high level of mutual cooperation on the part of all members of the group in (*a*) determining purposes to be realized, (*b*) formulating plans for achieving purposes, (*c*) devising methods of carrying out plans effectively, (*d*) evaluating results, and (*e*) selecting new and improved purposes for continued cooperative planning and action.

Pioneer research in this area was conducted by Lewin, Lippitt, and White. Careful, objective observations were made of boys in experimentally created "social climates." The results revealed that groups in which the leadership was characteristically autocratic tended to develop both highly aggressive and apathetic behavior. Hostility among members of the group was in evidence frequently, as was the practice of persecuting certain members as "scapegoats." Democratically led groups demonstrated less aggressiveness toward each other and less apathy, were more friendly, more objective in their decisions, more fact finding, more cooperative, displayed fewer tensions, and developed more flexible group structures.

Much of the material in the literature dealing with the problems of method has been organized around various types of teaching procedure. Thus, the reader will generally find a topic on the lecture, another on demonstrations, a third on individual study, etc. Although this approach has value, particularly in the more formalized kinds of adult-education teaching situations, the authors have decided to stress in this chapter informal methods.

Two major considerations influenced us in this decision. First, the teaching-procedure approach has been used repeatedly and materials dealing with each

aspect of teaching procedure are now readily available to adult educators. There seems to be no particular purpose in repeating again what has been done many times. A second, and fundamental, reason for breaking away from the teaching-procedure organization of material grows out of the belief that the point of view expressed by such organization is inconsistent with the philosophy of adult education developed in this volume.

The authors have repeatedly emphasized their interest in action-oriented programs. It is their belief that an adult-education program should be oriented to meet the felt needs of people and that these felt needs are not generally satisfied by methods designed to pass subject-matter information efficiently from authorities (the textbooks, the reading references, or the instructor) to the student. Felt needs are more likely to be satisfied by methods which involve the use of scientific method—that is, the identification of the problem or the block to needs satisfaction, the gathering of data, the formulation of a hypothesis, and, finally, the testing of this hypothesis through an action program. Evidence is accumulating which indicates that problem-solving, including the actual bringing about of individual or social change, can be done most effectively not by isolated, individual effort but rather by the cooperative participation of groups of people.

If these points of view are accepted—that is, first, that adult education should meet the needs of people, second, that meeting needs generally demands problem-solving, third, that problem-solving involves action programs, fourth, that problem-solving, including the promotion of action, is best done through group participation, then it follows that the fundamental problem in adult-education method is not concerned with formal teacher-dominated activities such as effective ways to lecture or demonstrate or to make assignments but rather with the problem of setting the stage and providing leadership so that groups may most effectively work toward the solution of their problems and the satisfaction of their needs.

The remainder of this chapter is organized around three major topics as follows: (1) general considerations concerning method, (2) discussion—the fundamental method, and (3) large-group methods.

General Considerations

Method is never an end; it is a means to reach a specific end with a specific group in a specific situation. It is obvious, then, that methods can be evaluated only in terms of the situation. Method is influenced by the characteristics of the participating groups—that is, by such considerations as their age, their previous educational experience, their level of intelligence; it is influenced by the purposes to be achieved—that is, by considerations of whether the goal is subject-matter mastery, the development of a skill, increasing understanding and appreciation, or complete problem-solving as mentioned above; it is influenced also by the specific learning situation—that is, by the physical conditions of the room, the seating,

lighting, by the presence or absence of blackboards, charts, projection equipment, and other teaching aids, and by such important but intangible items as leader-group relationships, interpersonal relationships, individual motivations, and past experience in teaching-learning situations.

The next two selections call attention to some of these general considerations concerning method. The first is a statement from the President's Commission on Higher Education.[2]

Adult education in the past has been much too inflexible, much too bound by traditional notions of proper educational procedures. Extension activities for years have been stultified by the idea that adult education consists merely of the transmission to mature people of campus courses developed to meet the needs of adolescents.

Adult students are not conscript classes. Already established as wage earners, most of them, they do not have to go to school; they have a wide range of activities from which to choose a way of spending their leisure. And adult education is, in most cases, a leisure time activity. The students come to the class or the correspondence lesson at the end of a full and probably tiring day. They want release from the tension of their jobs. They appreciate a much greater degree of informality in atmosphere and method than characterizes most campus classroom teaching

The program of adult education must be fitted in content, methods, and aims to the adult student as he is, not as the college or the professor thinks he should be.

If adult students are to remain in the class, once enrolled, they must be stimulated and interested. There is nothing to prevent them from dropping a course that does not interest or benefit them, nothing to prevent them from walking out on a teacher who is dull, rambling, and irrelevant.

Adult interest in further education is not predominantly vocational. Many enroll in extension courses to fit themselves for a better job, but many others are motivated by a desire, often vague and fumbling, for self-improvement, which they think a course in literature or history or current events should give them. The majority of them will demand substance in the lecture or the discussion but they will not suffer gladly much academic or specialist jargon.

The next selection, by Alvin Zander, raises some questions concerning student motives and teaching methods.[3]

Many teachers place a high value on meeting the needs of their students. At the same time they may feel the impact of forces which prevent them from ful-

filling this aim to any great degree. Thus, they may ignore the motives of their pupils because persons with power require that they dispense standardized information. Or, it may be that they lack the skill to teach in such a way, or cannot "find" any motivation in their classroom members. Perhaps both they and the students feel that teacher knows best, or that teacher's interests must be followed so that the student knows the proper line at exam time. Whatever the reason, many teachers find a personal conflict centered in their desire to consider the motives and growth of their students on the one hand, and the opposing forces working against this wish on the other.

In the teaching of adults this conflict should be weaker. Adults attend school because they want to do so. Their motives must be strong to overcome the end-of-day fatigue, weather, family responsibilities and other distractions. There may be no grades to channel their varied interests into conformity, and probably few standardized courses to inhibit the ingenuity of the teacher. The adult school instructor, therefore, should be able to consider the needs of the class member much more freely, with fewer personal conflicts, and with greater satisfaction than a teacher who is in a more restricting environment.

But this expectation may not be fulfilled. It was not true in four night school classes in which we studied closely the satisfaction of student needs. We cannot generalize beyond these four classes, of course, but what we learned in observing them raises some questions about other night school groups and indicates some areas in which further study is needed. This article is a summary of part of a study in the teaching of adults. The purpose of the investigation was to explore the nature of the problem in teaching adults, specifically in regard to the way in which these teachers dealt with the motives of the students.

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A summary of the findings must be brief here and will be presented in three areas: 1) the motives of the students and teachers, 2) the procedures in the classes, and 3) evidence of the fulfillment of these motives. Theoretically, these three categories correspond to the goals of the groups and the teachers, the paths followed to reach these goals, and the degree to which we perceived that they were successful in reaching these goals.

Over two-thirds of these students attended night school for reasons other than the course content. They expected, for example, to make friends, to get away from the house, to learn something about their latent talents, or to have some kind of escape experience. However, four out of ten indicated that acquiring information was an important motivation in attending these classes. Only about ten per cent had both content and non-content motives.

The teachers recognized that many students had interests other than information. They felt that these interests were best described as "social" or "recreational" and found it difficult to further define these vague terms. For the most part they believed that students joined their classes to acquire information and skill. Concerning their own aims as teachers, all of them expressed a strong feeling in one

way or another that they should try to meet the needs of their adult students. To do this they strove to create an informal atmosphere, they said, and to stimulate the thinking and creative efforts of their class members. They preferred a discussion method of teaching, in which there was a maximum opportunity for teacher-student and student-student interaction. They hoped, in short, to increase the opportunity for each student to get what he wanted out of the course.

Our records show that the teachers did, in fact, use the discussion method more than any other. They led the class into group discussions over forty percent of the time observed by us. They lectured twenty-seven percent of the time, and divided the rest among five other methods including demonstrations, administrative matters and individual work. However, some facts about the presence of discussions are of interest. During the discussions the teachers participated at the rate of almost one comment for every comment made by any student. Over half of the teachers' contributions was "giving information and ideas"; about one-quarter of the time they "questioned, prodded or evaluated." One-third of the students did almost all of the talking in each class. They directed two comments to the teacher for every one they made to a fellow class member.

Thus, even though these teachers aspired to teach in a way that was dictated by the needs of their students and described their teaching methods as those which offered a maximum opportunity for student participation, their class discussions were closer to a process in which a few students quizzed or listened to the authority. The significance of this is heightened by the following findings: 1) almost nine out of ten decisions to move to a new topic or activity were made by the teacher; 2) almost no time was spent on teacher-student planning of course direction; 3) only one teacher inquired about the students' interests in the course and he did not use this purpose-inventory in planning the course content; 4) one class meeting was held in the home of a student, other than that almost no time was devoted to the "social interests" which these teachers felt the students had when they entered the course.

In the interviews the students were asked what they liked and disliked about the classes. A significant majority of them liked their fellow class members more than they liked the information content of their courses. They disliked the teaching method more than the content. The teachers told the interviewers that any difficulties they had in using effective teaching methods were directly the fault of the students. They pointed to the wide diversity in the ability of the students, their lack of ability, their unwillingness to participate, their defensiveness, or their inhibited nature. These characteristics in the persons attending their courses were seen as serious obstacles to effective teaching.

We cannot presume to judge, from data like these, whether these are good teaching methods or bad. What interests us parenthetically, is the disparity between the aims and self-described methods of these teachers and the ways in which they performed in reality. We can, however, get some indication of the

adequacy of the processes used in these courses by examining the responses of the adults.

When they were asked what they were getting out of the course two persons described information they had acquired for everyone who described non-informational needs which had been fulfilled; or said they got nothing from the course. Similarly, the majority were most interested in the content and wanted more. Although a majority had wanted to learn things about themselves, make new friends or escape their mundane daily life when they entered the course, by the end of the semester they were thinking primarily in terms of the information they had obtained and relatively seldom about these unorthodox needs they had earlier felt were important.

We have already seen that there was relatively little verbal interaction among the members in the classroom. However, one-third of them said they felt that they had gained either a friend or an acquaintance with at least one person in their group. Apparently none of these friendships were very strong since an equal number said that they had not seen these friends outside of class, and, indeed, they did not plan to do so.

As the teachers reflected over what their students might say concerning what they had been getting out of the course they guessed that the students would mention most the social contacts they had made, the skills they had developed, and the stimulation their thinking had received. None of the teachers expected the students to put primary emphasis on the information they had learned. The teachers hoped that the students might say that they had developed new understandings, new skills and an awareness of what is good procedure in creative thinking and activity.

To sum up: A majority of students in four small night school classes had strong motivations to acquire something beyond information. The teachers said that they knew that many students had such purposes but assumed that the majority would attend for the information or skill they would acquire. They described their teaching methods as informal and intended to help the student meet his needs. The methods they actually used were not as flexible as those they described themselves as using and were probably of limited value in moving them toward the goal of meeting student needs. What the students said they were getting from the courses was primarily information and quite different from what they hoped to get.

If the findings in these four classes are typical of any great number of others in this country, we are presented with a multi-sided problem. A number of questions can be posed: What should be the function of adult education classes? Should adults be "taught" in classes? Should adult courses place a higher value on the needs of their students than do other educational activities? Why did these teachers value the motivations of their students outside the classroom but find it difficult to consider them when before the students? Do we equip teachers of

adults with the values and skills which make it possible for them to deal seriously with the strong and varied motives of adult-learners? In short, how shall education deal with the motives of adults when they enter an educational activity?

Discussion — The Fundamental Method

Perhaps the most significant trend in method as applied to the field of adult education is the increasing use of discussion procedures. This represents a shift from the almost exclusive use of the lecture method and indicates a basic shift of philosophy and direction. The traditional pattern of instruction in colleges and universities and in many public schools has had the effect of casting the teacher in the role of the fountainhead and source of a certain body of subject matter which is to be transmitted to the students. Unfortunately, the processes which developed for informing the student were largely one-way transmission lines with little if any opportunity for student participation in the definition of learning objectives or in the learning process itself. The student was on the receiving end and was expected to "soak up" the information handed to him much as a sponge soaks up water.

Unquestionably, there are many situations in which the "informing" procedure is suited to the needs of the group. In many adult-education situations, however, "informing" is not the major objective and when this is true the lecture method has been found to be generally less effective than discussion procedures.

Cooperative group discussion as a method of learning casts the teacher or leader in the role of a coequal member of the group, bearing a responsibility with others in the group of bringing personal knowledge and experience to bear on the problem or areas which the group has selected for study. As an educational procedure the method is based upon a principle of learning which recognizes that a person holds more enduringly and more intelligently those concepts which he has participated in formulating.

Before we analyze further group-discussion methods, it may be well to define more accurately the process involved. This has been done by Benne, Bradford, and Lippitt.[4]

Put briefly, group thinking and discussion refer to the entire process by which a group of people surveys the problems facing it, clarifies these problems, selects a problem which the group comes to feel is important and which it can hope to solve, formulates an acceptable common solution, devises ways in which the solution may be tried and decides upon the trial. In certain cases, where the group remains together after the trial of the solution, evaluation of the success of the problem-solution as thought through and tried and rethinking of the problem in-

sofar as it remains unsolved and of other related problems are integral parts of the process of discussion. Group thinking and discussion, as used in this treatment, are focused upon the definition and solution of common problems by a group of people. They are, therefore, oriented in some degree at all stages toward action, designed to solve the problem or problems being discussed. They move continually toward the clarification of goals, the definition of barriers to these goals and the devising of action to reach the goals through overcoming the barriers as studied and defined. The purpose of discussion involves, therefore, the remolding of habits, attitudes, understandings and ways of working of members appropriate to the problem being confronted and the solution devised. Though people do discuss in order to serve one or another stage of this process only, e.g., definition of common problems, clarification of goals, etc., the function of these "partial discussions are best seen in relation to the process of problem definition and solution as a whole."

The faith which adult educators must have in the democratic process of group thinking and group decision making is expressed by John Walker Powell as follows:[5]

Education consists of experiences in activity-situations shared with others, leading to increase in individual skills and resources and to growth in awareness of one's relatedness with other people.

Neutral as among people and beliefs, education is here made partisan on its own ground: it is committed to the methods of peace against those of force, to receptivity against exclusion, to intelligence against prejudice. Peace itself is not a stasis but a method of acting; and adult education must be a method for the forward resolution of conflict and the overcoming of obstacles to individual and community advance.

The multi-functional, multi-relational person, with the many relationships in which he is active, and the conflicting currents of aim and attitude that rise from his many activities; the free provision for multiple choice, in the faith that men can choose, and grow by choosing, can make what they do not find and grow in the making; the faith that men can be trusted to act separately because they can be trusted to live together, can think together about the things on which they differ and, by social invention, convert the energy of their differences into the fuel of forward motion; the faith that they can, in Bergson's phrase, "think like men of action and act like men of thought;"—in one word, and that an ancient one, that *Men Can by Taking Thought Together Add a Cubit to Their Common Stature*: these are the compass-points in which we have tried to orient an Ameri-

can structure of self-education for maturity: this is the soil from which will grow our contribution to world-wide education for a world community.

Leaders in adult education who share the convictions of Powell as expressed above are frequently discouraged by what sometimes seems to be a too slow movement from the traditional, formal, information-handout type of procedure. The following selection, however, by Paul L. Essert, indicates that healthy progress has been made in recent years:[6]

Probably no one knows the full extent of participation of American citizens in one or another form of discussion group. It is a well-known fact that, throughout our history, we Americans have believed in talking our problems over. From this characteristic, perhaps, derives the term that is often used to describe our nation: "a cracker-barrel democracy." Recent social phenomena have strengthened this tendency by making group thinking imperative for the preservation of liberty and individuality. Among these phenomena are the advent of the radio, with its vast army of commentators and public speakers; the development of chains of newspapers with a continually decreasing number of conflicting opinions in their editorial columns; the increasing skill with which propaganda is used to control the minds and emotions of people, a control so fearfully demonstrated in totalitarian states and upon certain sections of life in our own democracy. The realization that these and other instruments of mass communication can control public thought and action has made many American people feel the urgent necessity of developing the small groups that foster an intimate, neighborly, and close relationship —the sort of groups in which people can think and study together; can form their own opinions and their own plans of action to guide them through the maze of propaganda and standardized thought made possible by mass media. As a result of this feeling, the formation of discussion groups has been consciously encouraged and directed by discussion group agencies, national organizations, and public opinion forums, while in many local communities informal, neighborly, and relatively unorganized groups have mushroomed. Thus, in recent years, there has been probably a far more significant development of discussion technique than anyone has yet been able to summarize and evaluate.

At any rate, a few indications of this development can be seen in certain samplings of our society. From data gathered in various surveys of state and national membership organizations, it can be safely estimated that approximately half of them are conducting among their members discussion programs on political, civic, and economic questions. The interest shown in the discussion group movement and the encouragement given to it by these membership organizations range from setting up training courses for local leadership and preparing written

outlines as guides for discussion to providing the services of itinerant professional discussion leaders and speakers.

The National Farm Bureau, for example, organizes, plans, and directs a nation-wide discussion program, assisting farm families throughout the United States to carry on discussions of public questions and of matters that affect their own community life. Among the many other national organizations that are engaged in encouraging the use of discussion techniques and are assisting in their development are: the National League of Women Voters; the American Association of University Women; the B'nai B'rith; the National Grange; the Association of Junior Leagues of America; Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, Optimists, and other service club organizations; Business and Professional Women's Clubs; and the American Association for the United Nations. The National Institute of Social Relations is an outstanding example of an organization whose specific purpose is to promote, aid, and encourage the development of good discussion groups.

Having pointed out the vigorous nature of the discussion-group method, Essert proceeds to indicate some criteria for the improvement of discussion groups in the future.[7]

According to some of the more advanced authorities on discussion, the development of the discussion group into a more genuinely educative instrument will proceed, in general, along the following lines:

1. The better and more creative discussion groups will try to *clarify a problem* through conversation and directed discussion. The problem under discussion may be political, economic, social, religious, or what not; but it is becoming clear that the participants profit from the discussion only if the problem they face is one which seems real to them and upon which there are varying opinions that can be clarified through discussion. The more closely the problem is related to the experience of the participants, the more valuable the discussion may be. This does not mean, however, that the problem should necessarily concern purely provincial or local issues. Successful and vigorous discussion groups can deal equally well with city planning or world affairs; with elimination of ragweed or elimination of war; with building a better school or building a better United Nations.

In general, it appears that the mortality of discussion groups comes about mainly from anemia resulting from the fact that, for many of the participants, the discussions are of the over-my-head type, generally meaning "out of my experience."

2. The role of the leader or moderator will become increasingly important, but any attempt to professionalize discussion leadership would be disastrous to the vigor and vitality of the discussion group program. Rather, adult educators

should direct their efforts toward helping an increasing number of local leaders to understand the few simple and essential skills that will enable them to prepare and lead a good discussion.

3. The better programs of discussion will be preceded by some very careful planning and study on the part of the leader, at least, and, if possible, on the part of all the other participants, too. The major emphasis of the preliminary planning of the leader seems to be on his responsibility for breaking the subject of discussion into several parts, each part being summarized by a significant and pointed question that might be used in the discussion.

4. Discussion leaders or moderators can and should learn how to use a few simple techniques by which they can prevent discussions from becoming highly emotional or personal, and keep them moving along toward the solution of the problem under consideration.

5. While some discussions are chiefly designed to impart information to the participants, it should be borne in mind in planning a discussion even for this purpose that the information given should be clearly related to the solution of the problem that the discussion group is considering.

6. The best discussion group will be one in which the ongoing development of the participants proceeds, step by step, with each discussion leading to further interest and activity.

Materials and resources for making discussion groups more valuable are being improved and increased daily. They include books, pamphlets, graphic material, films, records, and evaluation devices, such as opinion meters. All these materials should be studied and watched by those responsible for the development of discussion group programs.

Perhaps we should regard this increasing practice of discussion in our democracy as something vastly encouraging, and should look upon membership in a discussion group as a substitute for the neighborliness we lost in the turbulent period when the growth of cities caused the complete upheaval of our neighborhoods. At least those of us engaged in adult education should see this discussion group movement as an opportunity to improve and build upon the traditions of the past and the inventions of the present.

In spite of the rapidly expanding use of the discussion method noted by Essert above, there are leaders in the area of group leadership who point out that a tremendous amount of research and skill development will have to take place before it can make a really significant contribution to group problem-solving. The following selection, by Leland Bradford, realistically faces some of the difficulties.[8]

The basic method of adult education is rapidly becoming the discussion method. Altho much effort has been put into the development of this method over

the years, too little has yet been accomplished either in its study or in the training of educators for its use. There are many reasons for this slowness of development. Those in adult education have been too few in number to spend time in scientific exploration, and schools of education and psychological laboratories have been, on the whole uninterested.

Primarily, tho, development of discussion as a major method of education has been slow because of basic misconceptions of the behavior of groups. We have unfortunately assumed that because adults were mature as individuals, the group they formed together would be a mature group. Because this assumption obviously did not work out in practice, because groups tended to prove themselves merely collections of individuals which disintegrated with distressing rapidity, and because the egocentricity and the cross purposes of individuals prevented any real group thinking or progress, we put our attention and emphasis on "managing" the group; leadership technics became those of clever manipulation. A search of the literature of the past few decades indicates with striking clarity the truth of this statement. Almost all emphasis was placed on managerial and manipulatory leadership technics rather than on the responsibility of participants, on the principles of group growth and on the role of the leader in helping participants develop within the group.

It is obviously incumbent upon those in adult education to strengthen discussion method and group work as the process of democracy. The growing awareness that groups undergo a growth process, just as individuals do, is encouraging. This concept opens up a host of new directions for exploration and analysis. What, for example, are the various types of participants or participant roles necessary for a healthy group? What are the responsibilities of participants for the maintenance and growth of the group? How does the leader encourage a development of oneness and the sharing by the group of leadership responsibilities? How may the group really discover the problems common to the entire group and not merely to a vociferous minority in the group? To what extent is real participation a matter of identification with the group effort, and not necessarily verbal participation?

We must, in adult education, go deeply into an exploration into the methods and technics of group discussion and group growth. Only as we become really skilled in these areas will we be of important service to others.

In the following selection, Bradford further emphasizes the fact that much remains to be done before effective group action can be expected.[9]

This demands that, more than ever before, adult educators gain increased awareness of the importance of group discussion, learning and decision making, and increased skills in group leadership so that adults may experience successful

group action. It means, also, that one of the major areas of adult education is that of training people in the skills of productive group membership. Thus both as teaching skills and as curriculum content, understanding and skills in the area of group process are needed by adult educators. Whether the adult leader is teaching in the area of academic subjects, in family living, in vocational skills, or is leading recreational and avocational groups, he needs to improve his skills as a group leader.

Against this background of desperate need for understanding and skill in group productivity is the really tragic picture of the almost universal inability of people to operate effectively in group situations. Anyone familiar with the average committee, with its difficulties in reaching decisions, its incomplete discussions and immature ideas, its personality clashes and emotional stress, and its inability to move from decision into action, should have no difficulty accepting this statement. This group inability has served to reinforce further the acceptance of the group leader as a group policeman ready to coax or bludgeon the irresponsible group member into productivity. The more the leader assumed police responsibility for group behavior, the more group members gained in irresponsibility for their behavior. Leadership thus emphasized the techniques of manipulation and control, and productivity was typically defined as the extent to which the leader could induce the group to accept his knowledge or decisions. The responsibility of the leader to help a group define its own problems, organize itself intelligently for production, and to train its own members to better carry out group responsibilities has not frequently been considered.

As the selections dealing with group discussion have emphasized repeatedly, there is a pressing need on the part of all who participate in groups, either in membership or leadership roles, for a clearer understanding of the process of group thinking and discussion. Such understanding is a prerequisite to the development of the fundamental skills required in group work. The next selection, by Benne, Bradford, and Lippitt,[10] presents in some detail an analysis of stages in the process of group thinking and discussion. It has many practical suggestions for those wishing to increase their effectiveness in group situations.

CLARIFICATION OF GROUP PROCEDURES

A newly assembled group will probably have vague and varied expectancies as to the way the leader and the group are going to operate. It is important that the group establish some workable procedures so that they can get started on the discussion quickly with some feeling of security and confidence. It is equally important that the group come early to feel that it makes its own rules of procedure and can remake them whenever it seems wise to do so. The leader should

bring up early in the first meeting such procedural matters as the time limitations within which they are working, the problem of the size of the group and what this means in terms of realistic progress, the time and place at which the meetings should be held, the extent to which the group may want to break up into smaller sub-groups for part of their work, etc. The leader must exercise a nice discrimination as to which matters of procedure he should open up definitely for group decision, and which he should present to the group as usual procedures which he assumes this group like other groups will wish to follow. In the latter event, he should make clear that these are matters which the group is free to change when they find it important to do so.

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It should be remembered that procedural decisions which are important to the group offer a new group early opportunity to make common decisions concerning their own behavior. This is the best way in which a collection of individuals can grow into a democratic group. It should also be remembered that group members want to get quickly into the content of their discussion. A procedural structure that is set quickly will help them get started with confidence. If the leader is careful to leave open any procedural matter which *he* decides for later revision by the group, opening up for group decision those that seem to involve some difficulty for members of the group, he will be able to serve both values.

No elaborate set of procedural rules should be adopted by the group to begin with. Democratic leaders should always be aware that rules set early before the group understands the limitations which these rules apply to the discussion, even though set by formally democratic means, may serve autocratic ends later in the discussion. After the discussion gets going, an interesting point is raised and the group starts following it. Then some member or the leader says, "No, we can't go into that area. Don't you recall that we democratically decided to follow these rules?" Rules of procedure should be reduced to a minimum and adopted by the group only after it sees the need for them. All rules should be regarded by leader and by the group as subject to change by the group which originally adopted them.

Building a Feeling of Permissiveness to Have Problems

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There are a number of things that any leader can do to contribute to a permissive atmosphere in early meetings of a group. First, informality and ease on the part of the leader will do much to reduce any tension present in the group and to bring a sense of relaxation which is close to a feeling of freedom. Second, we have already noted, in discussing the establishment of group procedures, that using early opportunities for group decision helps to convince the group that this is a meeting for all the group and not one in which the leader is going to ride his pet ideas. Third, it is important in developing this feeling of permissiveness to

spend sufficient time in getting people to talk about their gripes and difficulties without any effort to evaluate them. If the leader, for example, shows interest in every person's problem without concern for its magnitude or importance as he may judge it, he will do much to free people from this fear of being judged for the problems they happen to have. The leader should not say, "That problem hardly belongs in our discussion now," or "I don't think that's really a problem. If you did this or that your problem would disappear." He can say, "that's an interesting point. Let's list it here on the board and we will see later how it fits into our total picture." There is no need for the leader to fear that his time will be wasted by a host of irrelevant problems. In the first place, he can go no faster than the group thinking can carry him. His problem is to help the group members grow in ability to select and define important problems. To reject initial gripes or problems offered to the group may cause the members to withdraw from participation and to be fearful of contributing to later sessions. Problems which are very simple or irrelevant will either be solved by the individual as he develops in ability or will be grouped with other problems which will bring out neglected aspects of the problem or its irrelevance as originally stated.

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Getting the Problems out

If a feeling of permissiveness to have problems and state them has been developed, the blackboard will soon be filled with problems and gripes offered by the members for consideration by the group. The leader at this stage of discussion is in effect taking a *probem census of the group*. And, like any census, if it selects only from a few, it is not an adequate census. Like that of the census taker, the leader's function at this point is not that of the organizing, classifying or evaluating the problems suggested. He is rather getting out the raw material out of which the group will later in the course of discussion construct their common problem. It is a mistaken notion that the leader must get an equal number of problems from every individual. Some will always be more vocal and ready than others, some more reticent than the rest. The leader's main concern is to be certain that every member of the group feels that he is represented in some of the suggestions of problems for discussion, whether in those stated by himself or by somebody else.

Now a blackboard or a number of sheets of newsprint filled with suggested problems for discussion can appear terrifying and frustrating to a group when they stop to look at the list. Members of any group may react to a list of 20 or 30 items as candidates for their consideration with the feeling, "We can never get through all of these. What's the use of trying?" This is the feeling for which the leader should be watching. When such discouragement becomes somewhat evident, he can suggest to the group, "Perhaps we can go over these problems and find that they will boil down to a smaller number of related problems. Now

number 3, 4, and 5 seem to go together. I wonder if we can find others that are quite similar when we look at them carefully." If much group time is available, the leader and group can work further on classifying the problems into fewer and more manageable categories. If time is short, the leader can offer to try the job of categorizing the problems as his homework, stating that he would be glad of the help of volunteers in the job, if anyone has time for it.

Boiling the Problems Down and Selecting a Common Problem

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It is important that the leader (with or without help from group members) in making a grouping of suggested problems does not reword individual contributions so that they are no longer recognized by those who made them as *their* contributions. His grouping is not a final grouping but one to take back to the group for their judgment as to whether the categorization is a correct one. The leader may put the suggested grouping on the blackboard in the meeting room or, if facilities are available, he may duplicate the suggested grouping with a copy for each group member.

It is important that the suggested grouping be offered as something for the group to remake. The group should be invited to supply new groupings, to add additional problems in any of the categories, to find which, if any, suggestions have been omitted or wrongly classified. As the group works on this task each member is getting a deeper view of what his problem means and is also learning to see what the other fellow meant by his suggestion. This latter skill is so essential that the problem of its development will be stressed later. Each member is also seeing how individual suggestions integrate into a product which is common to the group.

When all are satisfied with their grouping of the problems, the next step is for the group to select some problem or problem area as a beginning point for their further thought and discussion. Ideally, if the group has attained a sufficiently common attitude at this point, a consensus may be reached quickly as to which problem area is the best common beginning point for the group. If differences appear in the group as to which problem is the best place to begin, the leader or some group member may offer a compromise. "I'm sure we agree that both problem areas are important and as we discuss one we will likely get some help on the other. Suppose we begin with this one and turn to the other when we think we've done a good job with the first. Is this satisfactory?"

Most healthy groups are anxious to *do something* to solve the problems which they discuss. One criterion which the leader should encourage the group to use in selecting its beginning problem is "Which of these can we hope to do something about?" In other words, the group should be encouraged to select a problem to begin with which they feel it is in their "power field" to solve. If the group chooses to work on some problem about which they think "nothing can be done,"

the discussion may be "interesting talk" but it will not be oriented to decision and action; it will not be "realistic" discussion. The leader may not feel that the problem chosen as realistic for them by the group is the most important of all problems suggested. But the leader is committed to the growth of the group as a group. And successful experience in tackling small problems which they can hope to solve is perhaps the best way for them to widen their view of what problems the group can do something about.

Developing and Maintaining Group Direction

The group that has no direction in its discussion is the group which covers the waterfront and ends up with feelings of small accomplishment and great frustration. The first step in developing direction lies in the group's definition and selection of a problem which is genuinely common. This has already been discussed.

But as discussion proceeds within the accepted problem area, the group still may have difficulty in staying on the beam. A leader can maintain direction autocratically but in the end the thinking accomplished is only his thinking with a few contributions which he has been able to pull out but the product is in small degree a common group product. Maintaining direction is properly the responsibility of both leader and group. The leader's role is that of helping the group find and review and change the direction it is setting for itself. The leader, aware of this responsibility, can help the group maintain direction in a variety of ways. He or any member of the group may stop discussion occasionally when it seems to be wandering from the direction originally set, to see where we seem to be going and to ask whether we think we are on the right track or whether we want to set another direction. Again, the leader or any member may question the comments or ideas of any participant in terms of whether this seems to be taking us where we want to go. The door is not shut on a new direction but the decision as to whether the new direction is desirable is left to the group. So long as the group reviews its progress in terms of goals previously set, and resets these goals through group re-evaluation, there is little chance that the group will lose direction.

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Maintaining "Realism" in Group Discussion

It has already been noted that the first step in insuring "realism" in discussion is for the group to select a problem, the solution of which lies within their power field. Choice of a problem concerning which they feel they can do nothing is almost certain to lead to general discussion which at no point deals with goals desired in terms of barriers to be overcome and action designed to attain these goals by overcoming these barriers to their attainment. "Realistic discussion," as we are using the term, refers to discussion oriented to action and this means

discussion which takes account of barriers and which focuses on the strategy of overcoming these.

The task of the leader and the group in maintaining realism in discussion becomes largely one of seeing that barriers to conceived courses of action are not ignored and that strategies for dealing with these barriers are thought through carefully in reaching a decision as to what to do. For example, a group is not discussing the problem of adequate recreation facilities for their neighborhood realistically, if it disregards such barriers as lack of funds, indifference of the city park commissioner to the needs of their neighborhood, the opposition of certain church groups to public recreational facilities, etc. Such a group will never close directly with the problem of what can we do to get the playground which we think we need. Or if they do conceive action which neglects these barriers, it is likely to be abortive and frustrating in its effects on the group.

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How a Group Informs Itself

It is noted earlier that discussion leaders often feel frustrated by the difficulty of helping a group see its need for the accurate information necessary to solve its problem intelligently. This frustration often expresses itself in such cynical comments as "group discussion is a method for building collective wisdom out of individual ignorance." Now it cannot be denied that discussion method encounters a difficult problem at this point. But it is important to recognize that it is a problem soluble by the conscious use of appropriate techniques and not an inherent limitation of discussion method.

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The group must learn to identify which of its difficulties arise out of insufficient facts and know-how. In an inexperienced group, the leader must assume much responsibility for sensitizing the group to this need when it occurs. For example, in the group discussing community recreation mentioned above, it does the group no good to argue what recreational facilities are available at the present time. Facts are needed. The group must get these facts from experts who know them, from published surveys if these have been made or, if the needed facts are not known, the group must do its own research if the facts are necessary to group progress. The leader of an inexperienced group, as their problem is chosen, may choose to canvass pertinent resource people, pertinent reading material, pertinent visual and auditory aids, that is, resources generally pertinent to the problem chosen. He may make the availability of these resources known to the group as they run into need for information. When a discussion bogs down because of insufficient or "conflicting" facts, some or all of the group members must do appropriate "research" until adequate basis of fact is available to the group. It is always important, if the introduction of fact or expertness into the group process is not to convert that process into a lecture, a conclusion-giving

session, that facts and expertness be introduced to meet some clearly defined needs that are seen as needs by all the group. It is important that the group learn to use such resources critically and selectively, not as substitutes for but as aids to group thinking.

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Making Group Decisions

A group becomes a group fully only as it forms a common purpose and decides on a course of action appropriate to that purpose. Common decision is, therefore, an important measure of the maturity of a group. And groups achieve this maturity only through successful experience in making decisions together. Decision is the bridge between the discussion of alternatives together with the choice of one of these and action. Any group discussion oriented to action is left dangling and incomplete if it does not culminate in decision.

There is growing evidence also that it is through decision in a group setting that individuals most effectively modify their attitudes and conduct in ways indicated by the meanings of facts and ideas discussed. All of the objectives of group discussion, previously noted, are therefore, best served by a group's pushing thought and discussion through to group decision. The group must answer the question individually and collectively, "What do our discussion and thinking commit us to do?"

We have seen that the effective leader finds opportunities for group decision from the first meeting of the group—decisions on matters of procedure, decision on what problem area to discuss, decision on the agenda (sub-problem) for any one meeting, decisions on use of experts or resource material, decisions on subgoals discussed and defined in the step-by-step process of problem solving. A group which practices decision in this way is building a group habit and expectation of shaping up its discussion to decision. Moreover, the group and its leader have built the expectation that no *member* is to be excluded from the thought and action of the group. Thus, the idea of the group has come to be consensus in decision. This practice in small decisions is the only dependable way to develop a group in its ability to make larger common decisions and to carry them through.

The group rightly aims then at consensus in action as the goal of discussion. Can it always be achieved? The answer is obviously "No." At times majority opinion is the best that can be attained. This is usually adequate in procedural matters, e.g., when and where we shall meet, whether we shall break up into smaller groups for certain phases of discussion, whether we shall invite in a certain resource person for a given meeting, etc.

Consensus is much more nearly essential with respect to the problem selected, the goals to be pursued by the group and the solutions of problems to which the group commits itself. Where persistent differences occurs, it is usually better to ask the group to find what it can agree on and where it differs and to commit

itself as a group only insofar as it has reached common agreement. Where a group is not committing itself to group action but to personal action by members of the group, a variety of commitments may be invited over and above the common commitment of all members. It is healthy for members to commit themselves publicly to do something about the problems discussed, even if personal commitments may differ. However, the expectation which the group is building as to successful group discussion is toward consensus as the only adequate basis for common action.

Evaluation Of Group Process

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It should always be remembered that the eventual success of group process can only be judged in terms of the quality of the solution of common problems to which group thinking has led. Thus, the test of good group process lies beyond the process of discussion in an evaluation of the consequences to which action based on group decision leads. For example, in the group trying to improve and extend recreational opportunities for children and adults in their neighborhood, the eventual test of the success of their group discussion is in the extension and improvement of these recreational facilities. The ultimate test of discussion which focuses upon devising action-solutions to problems always lies beyond the process of discussion itself in the consequences of action undertaken.

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While recognizing that the full evaluation of discussion lies beyond the process of discussion, it is important that a group recognize that they can find intermediate checks on the quality of their discussion by evaluating from time to time their own group process and the difficulties and problems which it presents. It is also true that the latter two objectives of discussion growth of members in insight and skill in managing group participation and the growth of the group as a group may also be well-served by a group's evaluation of its procedures. How can a group evaluate the quality of its own group process of thought and discussion?

The time for a group to look at its procedures is when it has felt difficulty with the way discussion is going. The group may come to be concerned that its discussion isn't "interesting" to all members; that the group does not seem able to get together in decision; that the talk seems frequently to wander from the point, etc. Taking time out to look at its own difficulties in thinking together, the group has an opportunity to learn for itself how groups grow and function, what skills and attitudes make for efficient group leadership, what responsibilities members have for making the group function well, etc. It is true that members acquire these skills only by practicing them but it is also true that they become conscious and thoughtful in practicing them only as they become conscious

problems for the group. Many groups find an evaluation session so productive in terms of more efficient group work that they decide to set aside a regular short period for evaluation of their group procedures and for practice of skills found to be important and needed but in which they are deficient. The following list of questions offers a brief list of some of the criteria which a group may use in evaluating its ways of working. An answer in each case toward the "yes" end of the scale indicates successful democratic process; an answer toward the "no" end of the scale indicates symptoms of poor process. A group can gauge its growth by noting whether it is moving from the "no" to the "yes" end of the scale in each respect.

1. Does every member make contributions to the discussion?
2. Is every member intensely involved in the discussion at all stages?
3. Does the discussion move toward common agreements in terms of the solution of the problem being discussed? Do all members of the group understand and accept as important the problem being discussed?
4. Is the discussion oriented toward decision and action at all times?
5. Does the group accept and understand the conflicts encountered and move toward their resolution?
6. Does the group recognize its need for information? Does it know how to go about getting such information?
7. Does the group use resource persons or resource material as an aid to its own thinking, not as giving the final action-solution of its problem?
8. Is the group unduly dependent upon its leader or on some of its members? Does the group use its leadership as an aid to common solutions, not as a source of final solutions?
9. Is the leader accepted as a member of the group, with special functions to perform?
10. Is there an atmosphere of friendly cooperation in the group at all times particularly when conflicts of ideas and points of view are encountered?
11. Does the group resent attempts at domination by its leader, one of its members, a clique of its members or by a visiting expert?
12. Is there a feeling of progress toward common goals?
13. Is the group "realistic" in its choice of problems and in setting its goals?
14. Does the discussion move readily toward decision when decision is required?
15. Does the group find it possible to dispense with the creaking machinery of parliamentary procedure?

Before we turn from group-discussion techniques in face-to-face groups, it seems desirable to illustrate some of the principles presented by a case study of a group at work. The selection is from *Roads to Agreement* by Stuart Chase.[11]

Following the holocaust at Hiroshima in 1945, the President of the United States asked five men to try to work out a plan for the international control of atomic energy. They labored for many weeks, and their report is an outstanding document in human history. We are all familiar with its fate, but the story of its drafting, although it was reported in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* is not so familiar.

The five were all strong and independent men, not too fond of committee techniques. Early in their deliberations they decided to by-pass the old devices that led to the usual compromise report and seek a bold new approach. The subject was too important to be left to the hazards of the usual push and pull. "We studied committee techniques, and why the system fails so often or comes up with sterile compromises. We discussed semantics, dialectics, the art of persuasion. . . ."

The group observed that many committees fail because members arrive with their minds made up. They spend the committee's time fighting for preconceived theories, and a struggle between personalities usually develops. So the five resolved to divest their minds, sofar as they were able, of any previous thoughts on what should be done about atomic energy and try to start with a clean sheet. They would then carefully assemble the available facts and let the plan grow out of them.

They agreed that questions coming up were to be considered the product of the group, not of the member introducing them; not "my idea" but "our idea." If somebody had an objection, it was to be considered a difficulty troubling the group. There was to be no log-rolling and no trading—a bold new approach indeed! They found it difficult at first, but gradually preconceptions were laid aside. Some of the best discussions, as it turned out, took place on long plane trips to the laboratories in the South and West.

The group avoided incomplete discussion, sporadic meetings, erratic attendance, personalities, and the common practice of turning undigested material over to a secretary to work out a statement which would offend nobody. "Each of us was pledged to emancipate himself from the tyranny of his own ego. We were trying to create a collective wisdom." The report was not to be a list of individual ideas tied together with rhetoric but a real synthesis. . . .

All the world knows how well they succeeded. The report which came out of this unique process was not final, and was not meant to be, but it provided a solid foundation on which to build. . . .

Large-group Methods

In this volume a great deal of stress has been placed upon the importance of the small, face-to-face group. We have indicated that it is in small, intimate,

gatherings of people attracted to one another by personality characteristics as well as by a common problem that we find the best possible environment for group problem-solving. In our society, however, if we judge by their frequency, we place a great deal of faith in large meetings as instruments of social change. Every year in cities, towns, and rural centers, in churches and schools and city halls, are held thousands of meetings with audiences too large in number to permit the active, overt participation of each member. Such meetings, because of their frequency, the large number of people involved in them, and the large investment in both time and money which goes into their promotion, need to be carefully analyzed in terms of their actual effectiveness. If it is found that typical large-group meetings are ineffective, then adult educators should either eliminate them from their programs or should revise the techniques used in them.

The authors take the position that in spite of all the advantages of the small face-to-face group there is still a need for bringing together large groups of people in decision-making situations. If we are to make these large meetings effective instruments for problem-solving, however, we shall have to change many of our traditional concepts.

Two selections presented below deal with the large meeting. The first, by Leland Bradford and Stephen M. Corey, analyzes some of the weaknesses in typical large meetings and points out some of the areas to which special attention will have to be given if they are to be improved. The second selection provides a graphic illustration of one way in which a large meeting can be conducted so as to eliminate some of the weaknesses pointed out.

Here is the material from Bradford and Corey:[12]

THE WEAKNESSES IN MOST LARGE GROUP MEETINGS

In [a previous] article . . . some basic weaknesses of the conventional large group meeting were commented upon: (1) the phenomenon of audience passivity induced by listening only; (2) the anonymity phenomenon of being lost in a mass instead of belonging to a working group; (3) the rejection phenomenon of resisting suggested changes made from the platform because the speaker is different from the audience member and doesn't understand his problems; and (4) the "one-way communication" phenomenon, which prevents the interchange of point of view and information at problem points that is essential for real communication.

We do not mean to imply that the conventional type of large group meeting cannot be effective, or that skill in speaking and the possession of sensitivity to audience emotional reactions are not important. The point we would like to make is that the large group meeting is apt to be successful to the degree that its purposes are consistent with the varying and complex needs of the audience and to the degree that it has been planned and conducted in such a way as to achieve these purposes.

The planning of most large group meetings rests, unfortunately, upon some questionable assumptions. One is that the small group "responsible" for the meeting or the speakers themselves should make the decisions regarding the problems to be dealt with. A second belief that often gets in our way is that "telling" a large group, or the momentary uplift and covert mental promises made to themselves by the audience members, is sufficient to bring about change. We often assume, too, that the best way to improve the large group meeting is to pay more attention to platform oratory, to improved media of communication such as films, or to other mechanical devices like public address systems. Tradition, the undoubted effectiveness of some conventional large group meetings, the appeal made to all of us by the expert speakers, and fear of what may happen if control of the meeting leaves the platform have conspired to make these assumptions persist.

Problems of the Large Group Meeting

Any attempt to examine large group meetings in respect both to audience and platform behavior indicates not only the complexity of the forces that are operating, but also the great potentials for learning, for social action, and for social change that do exist when large groups get together to achieve a common purpose. Traditionally we view the success of the large meeting as being dependent primarily upon forces emanating from the platform. In reality many forces determine the reaction of audience members in addition to what happens on the platform, such as the expectations of members of the audience, their reasons for coming to the meeting, and their desire to participate in what goes on. Any examination of the large group meeting phenomena indicates the following as some of the areas to which attention must be given:

(1) *The Purpose of the meeting.* While most large meetings do have an educational purpose, they illustrate an exceedingly wide range of specific purposes—to give information, to inspire, to entertain, to bring about group decision making or problem solving, to induce change in the individual audience member, or to bring the audience as a group to engage in activity leading toward a specific social change. Each of these purposes may require a different type of meeting and the importance of being clear as to the purpose of the large meeting in relation to the audience needs and the methods employed cannot be overemphasized.

(2) *Platform-audience intercommunication.* Effective communication is always a two-way process. In order for communication to be maximally effective, definite arrangements must be made to insure the active involvement of all members of the group whether or not this involvement is verbally overt. This active involvement and participation on the part of people in the audience, as well as people on the platform, is a complex psycho-sociological phenomenon.

(3) *Understanding audience behavior.* Members of the audience are reacting to many events. They are affected not only by what happens on the platform,

but by the presence of other people in the audience. Too, the members of the group are variously motivated. The total socio-psychological atmosphere of the audience-platform situation may be such as to establish decided resistances to the communication of platform presentation, or it may, on the other hand, facilitate understanding and acceptance. Some members of the audience may by seeking an opportunity to be heard by others, to contribute actively to the meeting. Other members of the group may wish to remain hidden and passive. Despite these differences among individuals, there are general patterns of audience needs —the need to participate in the meeting, the need to be accepted by others, the need for reenforcement through discovering that others face the same problems and have the same reactions—that should be met in order to increase the success of the meetings.

(4) *Platform-audience collaboration.* Successful meetings are most apt to be those in which there is a real feeling that the gap between the platform and the audience has been closed, and both groups are engaged in a common task. While it is true that exceedingly effective public speakers frequently are able to create the illusion that there is no gap, in the typical large meeting a substantial space exists between the audience and the platform.

(5) *The place of the meeting in a wider setting.* Too frequently large meetings are planned as if they had or could have no relationship to events that take place before and after the meeting. We believe that if the purpose of the meeting is other than pure entertainment, it must take its place as part of a larger plan. If this is not done—if the meeting is not designed so as to be derived from and move on to another experience or activity or change—then it tends to be a psychologically self-contained unit bringing about its own closure, which tends to preclude change.

We turn from this theoretical discussion of the large meeting to an example of one such meeting carefully planned to experiment with procedures which might make it more effective in group problem solving than is the traditional meeting. The selection comes from Stuart Chase.[13]

As an occasional lecturer, I have long been troubled by the problem of how to get an audience really concerned about the subject under discussion. Most lecturers and their audiences are far apart, while the audience itself tends to be more an aggregation than a participating group.

The staff at Bethel wanted to experiment with a new kind of relationship between lecturer and audience and asked if I would act as guinea pig. I was alarmed by the preliminary plan which they sketched, but I agreed. After all, were we not a "laboratory"?

So one night I got up on the platform in the gymnasium in a general session before all the delegates and staff and even some townsfolk. Max Corey as chairman told us what we had to do.

"Back home," he said, "a visiting speaker is introduced with a variety of rich adjectives. We hear him through, like him or dislike him, and then we go home. Nothing the speaker says affects us much, and nothing we do affects him—unless we walk out on him. Tonight we want to help you in the audience listen more critically; we want to help the speaker get some new ideas. We want you both to operate as a team exploring the topic assigned.

"Stuart Chase, here, is known to most of you through his books. He is going to tell you, in not more than forty minutes, about the book he is working on now, and why he came to Bethel to find material for it. He's going to try and help you, and I hope you will try to help him. He probably needs it."

The chairman then divided the audience of about three hundred into six groups by walking up the aisle and marking off lines with his hands. He gave each section an assignment. On each chair was a mimeographed sheet, sent down from the clerical department, repeating the instructions. They read in effect:

Group 1 was to listen for implications in the lecture which might prove useful to Bethel.

Group 2 was to listen for ideas which the speaker should elaborate later, things he had slurred over. (This was the "probing" team. In an ordinary question period certain individuals in the audience do this.)

Group 3 was to listen for high points of the talk and later emphasize them to the audience.

The above three groups were assigned to *help the audience*. The next three were to *help the speaker*.

Group 4 was to think about additional data for possible inclusion in Chase's book.

Group 5 was to listen to his description of areas of human conflict and see what areas could be added.

Group 6 was to concentrate on suggestions for making the book more readable. Given this subject, where should the emphasis be placed; what treatment would best hold the reader's interest?

I swallowed my dismay and began with an anecdote about roleplaying which made us all feel better. Then I told them about this book you are reading, its genesis and its aim. I told about some of the people I had talked to and some places where I had gone for material, like UNESCO in Paris and the TVA in Knoxville. Then I read aloud about half of the chapter on the Quakers, to give them a sample of the approach and the style. Then I sat down, after *thirty-nine* minutes.

The audience gave me a different feeling from any I had ever encountered. The words did not bounce back as they often do from a bored or indifferent aggregation; they went home, but I was not entertaining anybody. The words

went home but were turned around and examined before being taken in. The audience was listening as I never had been listened to from a platform—not agreeing, not disagreeing, neither hostile nor especially friendly, weighing and thinking.

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The first report came from the probing group. Spokesmen asked me to tell the audience more about the ethical background of the Quaker meeting and more about Cyrus Ching and the mediation procedure in labor disputes. This I did briefly. Now my evening's talking was over, and I stood and listened as the audience talked through its spokesmen to me. It was well worth hearing!

Why shouldn't Bethel experiment with the Quaker technique of silence?

What can we do about the danger of group dynamics becoming a cult?

The speaker should add *the family* to his area of conflict for especial study.

It is good to know that the study of conflict and agreement is going ahead on so many fronts. The speaker has given us new inspiration.

The speaker should use a great many simple, human cases in his book, so that the reader can readily identify himself with the problems raised. But he must be careful not to oversimplify. He should define the various kinds and levels of agreement early in the book. He should know about research at Berkeley, at Kansas, at Chicago. . . . (Picture me busily taking notes at this point.)

The aftermath took as much time as the lecture—that is, the audience talked through its spokesmen about as long as I had talked. Then we all went home.

Chase's sensitivity to the possibilities in new approaches to large group meetings highlights changes which, it is hoped, will become increasingly common in other areas of method. Method and materials are two sides of the same shield. With the new materials illustrated in the next chapter available to educators, the problem of devising appropriate methods is crucial. It is the responsibility of the adult educator to experiment continuously with methods and to report the results through professional journals and conferences. Chapter 19 has direct implications at this point.

MATERIALS

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MATERIALS ARE THE TOOLS of the adult educator. They are the means of communication devised to bring information, points of view, or appeals to action to those who participate in adult-education activities but who are not generally in a face-to-face situation with the producer of the material. Materials are of great educational significance in that they bridge the limitations of time and space and can bring each of us into contact with the thinking of leaders who may have lived in another period or in a part of the world remote from us. They make possible a great common background of experience for masses of people in communities throughout the nation, and to some extent throughout the world, without which it would be futile to hope for understanding or for cooperative effort.

Materials are as varied in content as the ideas with which adult educators work. In form they range from duplicated or printed materials, such as bulletins, newspapers, magazines, and books, to such audio-visual materials as radio, motion pictures, and television.

The basic importance of these modern miracles of communication has been emphasized by William B. Levenson and Edward Stasheff.[1]

Most teachers [and group leaders] are aware of the vital nature of communication. For the conveyance of intelligence is the first essential of coopera-

tion, and without it, social life as we know it could not exist. The exchange of meanings is the essence of teaching. If it were not for communication, every generation would have to start anew to understand, control, and conquer nature.

Especially for us, as teachers and leaders in a democratic society, this process is essential. Our efforts will determine in large measure the success or failure of one of mankind's greatest experiments—the attempt to draw everyone into the process of government.

If the products of . . . American [education] are to justify the underlying faith in our way of life—that most of the people will be right most of the time—then we need to be sure that the social changes that will invariably take place in the wake of these scientific marvels are conditioned to a maximum degree by our active interest and participation.

The good teacher [or leader] cannot afford to be a mere spectator of the social scene. If it is true, as some have said, that cultural influences are shifting from church and school to press, films, radio and television, then the significance of such change has real meaning for the truly professional educator.

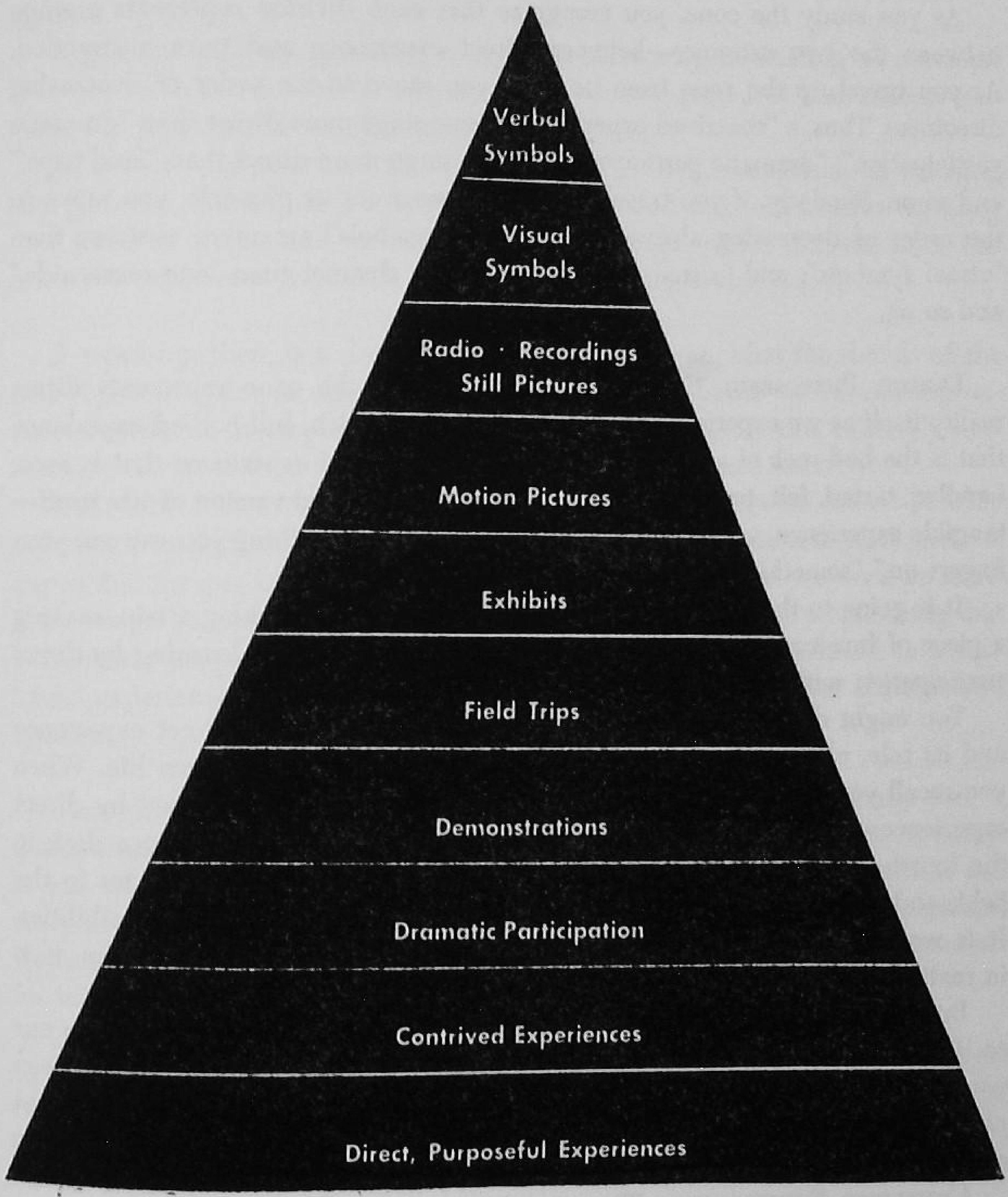
The worker in adult education is faced with three major problems in the area of materials. First, he must be able to select or produce that material which has good content in appropriate form to accomplish specific purposes with a specific group in a specific situation. Second, he must be able to solve the problem of distribution in such a way that the materials are conveniently available when needed. Third, he must develop techniques for utilizing the materials so that they are effective in accomplishing his purpose.

The selections in this chapter have been organized so as to deal first with some over-all problems and points of view concerning materials and then to take up for more detailed analysis the special problems involved in (1) materials to be read, (2) radio and television, and (3) motion pictures. It will be noted that the three major problems mentioned above come up for consideration time after time as the different kinds of material are discussed.

The selection which follows is Edgar Dale's classification of materials on the basis of the kind of learning experiences they provide.[2] It provides a comprehensive overview of the range of materials available to the educator.

The "Cone of Experience"

. . . Much of what we have found to be true of direct and indirect experience, and of concrete and abstract experience, can be summarized in a pictorial device. We call it the "Cone of Experience," but it is not offered as a perfect or mechanically flawless picture to be taken with absolute literalness in its simplified form. It is merely a visual aid to explain the inter-relationships of the various



The cone of experience.

types of audio-visual materials, as well as their individual positions in the learning process. Even the hastiest glance at the cone shows that sensory materials can be readily classified as they move from the most direct to the most abstract kind of learning.

As you study the cone, you recognize that each division represents a stage between the two extremes—between direct experience and pure abstraction. As you travel up the cone from its base, you move in the order of decreasing directness. Thus, a "contrived experience" is one stage more direct than "dramatic participation"; "dramatic participation" is one stage more direct than "field trips," and so on. Similarly, if you travel down the cone from its pinnacle, you move in the order of decreasing abstractness: "verbal symbols" are more abstract than "visual symbols"; and "visual symbols" are more abstract than "one-sense aids," and so on.

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Direct, Purposeful Experience. The base of the cone represents direct reality itself as we experience it at firsthand. It is the rich, full-bodied experience that is the bed-rock of all education. It is the purposeful experience that is seen, handled, tasted, felt, touched, smelled. It is the unabridged version of life itself—tangible experience, which we commonly refer to as "Something you can get your fingers on," "something you can sink your teeth into," etc.

It is going to the bank, preparing meals, taking a walk, taking a trip, making a piece of furniture, performing a laboratory experiment. *It is learning by direct participation with responsibility for the outcome.*

You might do well to think seriously about this purposeful direct experience and its role, not merely in the educational process, but in your own life. When you recall your childhood, your sharpest, richest memories are evoked by direct experiences—the first meadowlark's nest found on the prairie, the worn desk in the fourth-grade room in Public School 51, the earliest wild strawberries in the field, and as many other different incidents as there are lives and sensibilities. It is worth noting that this division constitutes the base of the cone, for it is in reality the *basis* of all effective learning.

But life cannot always be lived on this direct, concrete, sensory level. Even our earliest experiences involve some degree of abstraction. As very young children we learn to talk about the doll or the dog or the man or the rabbit which is not physically present. Inevitably our direct, concrete experiencing soon becomes associated with abstractions.

Contrived Experiences. The second stage in the development of increasingly abstract experience may be illustrated by the working model. It differs from the original either in size or complexity; we *simplify* it by a working model. For teaching purposes, the model may be easier to understand than the thing it stands for.

A contrived experience is *"editing" of reality,* an editing which makes the

reality easier to grasp. The clutch on an automobile is hard to understand when you sit in the driver's seat and press down the pedal, but a simplified model or a cutaway model shows clearly and simply how the clutch mechanism works. For teaching purposes, therefore, the imitation is better than the reality which it imitates.

A gasoline refinery sprawling over many acres may be baffling to a visitor. It is too much for the eye to take in. But a working model of that refinery can make the processes far simpler to understand.

A "model" city presented through models often helps immensely in teaching city planning. Initially it is a better teaching method than the aimless traveling over miles of streets and viewing scores of buildings, parks, and the like. The contrived experience is a much more fruitful teaching device.

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A mock-up, then, is a device which changes and simplifies the details of the real object in order to make it more teachable. It simplifies by eliminating unnecessary detail. It emphasizes the key points. Undoubtedly this relatively new teaching device will be increasingly used both in schools and industry.

DRAMATIC PARTICIPATION. There are a great many things we cannot possibly experience at firsthand. Life is too short. Restrictions of time and place make it impossible for any of us to experience directly much of what we need to know if we are to be educated. Besides, we cannot experience directly something that has already happened. Furthermore, some matters cannot be reduced to a contrived experience, and some ideas must of necessity be somewhat abstract and symbolic.

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Though it is not the thing itself, though it stands for something else, a dramatization may have certain teaching advantages over the real-life situation. It can eliminate many elements that mean little and distract attention. It can sharpen and emphasize the important ideas. By reconstructing the experience, we can focus upon the things that "matter"; thus manipulating the subject-matter for teaching purposes.

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The three stages that we have discussed so far all involve *doing*. The direct experience, the securing of contrived experience through the use of working models and mock-ups, and the experience of reconstructing reality by acting it out in a dramatization—in these three the individual is not a spectator but a participant.

In the next five stages on the cone, the individual is an observer. He no longer participates actively with responsibility for the outcome—he merely watches. . . .

DEMONSTRATIONS. A demonstration is another means whereby pupils can see how certain things are done. A coach demonstrates how to pass a football; a science teacher demonstrates the separation of hydrogen from oxygen by

electrolysis; an arithmetic teacher demonstrates a short-cut method for multiplying.

Demonstrations may require nothing more than observation on the part of the pupil, or he may be asked to do what he has just been shown how to do. Whether the demonstration is to be followed by this "doing" on the part of the pupil, depends on the nature of the teaching problem. It may be enough for the teacher to show by electrolysis how hydrogen can be separated from oxygen. But a short-cut method in multiplying is not demonstrated by the teacher until the pupils need to use the new knowledge themselves.

You can readily see now that the cone of experience cannot be taken too literally. While the device is true as a whole, it does not imply any restrictions upon use. On the contrary, in any teaching program a variety of levels of abstraction may be effectively mixed. Indeed, in any continuous program of teaching, even in a single lesson, there will be a wide range—from direct, responsible sense-participation to a high-order level of abstraction.

Field Trips. When we make a school journey, excursion, or field trip we often see other people doing things. We watch them and note the meaning of their actions. As spectators, we are not responsible for what happens—we are on the sidelines, without authority or ability to alter the event. We merely watch it unfold.

This kind of sensory experience is so well known that extended comment at this point is unnecessary. Many schools in the eastern part of the country visit Washington, D. C. They watch the Congress at work; they go to the Mint and look on as money is printed.

If, however, they go one stage beyond observation—for example, if they interview government officials—the field trip gains in directness. When observation is combined with participation the field trip becomes more meaningful. Such a variation of the field trip indicates again how the bands of the cone interlap and blend into one another. We are beginning to see that our cone is by no means a perfect representation of the different levels of abstraction but merely a teaching device to accent certain points.

Exhibits. Where shall we place "Exhibits" on the cone? Sometimes they consist only of working models arranged in a meaningful display. Sometimes they are a series of photographs, or of photographs mixed with models and charts. Sometimes they include a demonstration or a motion picture. We shall keep our bearings if we remember that an exhibit is essentially something one sees as a spectator. A mock-up is seen by a spectator, but the spectator also operates some of the spread-out materials, or is otherwise engaged in doing. Usually one is not involved in handling anything or working the materials, though some complicated exhibits include such added sensory experiences. When they do, of course, the learning can become that much more meaningful.

Motion Pictures. Our next band, motion pictures, includes a number of

variations of a single type. We may see a motion picture that is silent, or one that combines sight and sound, or one that combines sound with three-dimensional sight, and with full color.

The motion picture experience, unlike the field trip, unfolds with a compression of time and space. All the experience is not there. But this loss in directness and this compressed experience has compensating advantages. The motion picture can omit unnecessary and unimportant material and concentrate upon a few selected points. For example, in a field trip to a pottery we usually see the entire process from beginning to end. But a film on pottery-making can quickly pass over certain less important processes and emphasize the more significant ones. Besides, the mechanical devices for slow-motion enable us to sharpen up the key ideas. With slow motion, of course, we expand space and time.

Let us not forget, however, that we are *spectators* before a motion picture. We are some distance from touching, tasting, handling, feeling, from directly experiencing. We are no longer participants in the event. Neither do we get a direct or contrived experience. We are merely watching an event—perhaps seeing other people do things—and through an edited version of their experiences, in which time and space have been altered.

This is another way of saying that motion pictures present an abstracted version of the real event, with consequent losses as well as gains. It may be easier to understand than a more direct experience. A deliberate and contrived order has been imposed on the material, different from the reality itself. We can, if desirable, see the finished vase at the start of the picture and then go back to the steps involved in arriving at this result.

The motion picture can also dramatize events so effectively that we feel as though we are present at the reality itself. This is a great educational boon. For example, how clear are you as to the thinking and action in the Revolutionary period from, let us say, 1765 to 1800—a thirty-five year era unusually rich in historical meaning? Can you recall many of these events in full detail? Is Tom Paine a real flesh-and-blood character? Can you see him trudging down the streets of Philadelphia, taunted by small boys and scorned by the Tories of his time? Or is he just a vague, misty, verbal symbol?

Motion pictures can reconstruct this period with such dramatic intensity, with such realism and poignancy, that even the slowest child will react to its meaning. Unfortunately, we have not yet sufficiently used the motion picture to build a rich, memorable understanding of a great past.

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Still Pictures, Radio, Recordings. Our next stage on the cone includes a number of devices that might be classified roughly as "one-dimensional" aids. Take motion out of the three-dimensional motion picture and you have the equivalent of a three-dimensional stereograph. If you remove the depth dimension, you have the filmstrip, the glass slide, and the photograph. The filmstrip, however,

differs from both the glass slide and the photograph by using photographs in a fixed order. Radio and recordings are one-dimensional aids with similar differences as to imposed or free sequence.

These materials are roughly classified as "one-dimensional," though in terms of the central nervous system no experience can be so named. A stimulus may start through the eyes or ears, but when the impulse reaches the association centers of the brain, other neural areas are involved. The chief difference between these still pictures and the sound film is, for example, this: the still pictures are not presented in an imposed sequence. The experience of seeing them is less ordered and less formalized. Your file of pictures on Africa, consisting, let us say, of 100 separate photographs, can be used in any order you desire, and you can repeat any of them and omit as many as you wish. You can do the same, of course, with phonograph records.

It may be worth pointing out an intrinsic advantage of the projected glass slide or filmstrip; magnification. Though the pupil handles no material and is merely a spectator, he nevertheless experiences the view with more intensity. The image is large and impressive and the darkened room removes distractions, enables him to focus his attention on the subject itself.

VISUAL SYMBOLS: CHARTS, GRAPHS, MAPS, ETC. When we enter the next stage on the cone, we no longer have the realistic picture of the thing itself but an abstract representation. With charts, graphs, and maps, we no longer deal with literal reality but with substitutes. We communicate by means of a new language —visual symbols. A chart may use a dollar sign or a drawing of a coin to represent money, or a silhouette of a dejected working-man to symbolize one-million unemployed. It may use a pie to represent $1 of federal tax money, and a slice of the pie (part of the $1) for federal expenditure on military equipment. A graph may use a line to show growth and progress—a line which shows a rise or fall in income, production of coal, changing birthrate, and the like.

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Many purposes can be served by graphs, maps, and charts, and particularly the last. Time charts can show the progress of events over any desired period of time. Charts or diagrams can portray the stages in the operation of a gasoline engine. A chart can indicate how material progresses through a factory from the raw stuff to the finished product. A diagram may clarify the sequence of ideas in a paragraph or speech, or the organizational structure of the Congress of the United States, or the stages through which a bill becomes a law, or the plan of an association for world peace. A chart or diagram can be used whenever such a visualization can assist a pupil to understand an idea, an event, a process.

VERBAL SYMBOLS—PINNACLE OF THE CONE. The next and final stage brings us to verbal symbols—designations that have no resemblance to the objects or ideas for which they stand. All appearances have been removed from the original. The word *cat* does not look like a cat or sound like a cat or feel like a cat. The term *credit* does not reproduce the hundreds of specific experiences directly

related to its meaning. At the pinnacle of the cone, we have abstracted everything from the original except the meaning of the term, and on this meaning we have reached more or less common agreement.

The verbal symbol may be a word (like *cat*), an idea (like *beauty*), a concept (like *credit*), a scientific principle (like *the law of gravity*), a formula (like H_2O), a philosophic aphorism (like *Honesty is the best policy*), and any other representation of experience that has been classified in some verbal symbolism. The range is limitless, from the elementary word *cat* to such terms as *democracy* or *truth* and *justice*. The important fact is the absolute abstractness of the symbol. Though certain words are held to be imitations of the things they stand for (onomatopoetic words like *whir, swish, crackle*), once they are conveyed through verbal symbols transcribed on paper, they have lost their last trace of direct reality. Thus, the pinnacle of the cone is not a rarefied height frequented only by the great intellects, for a child who can read and write *cat* is a user of verbal symbols. Indeed, the reading-writing processes begin at the pinnacle of the cone.

Several generalizations may be appropriate at this point concerning the application of some of the materials and types of experiences discussed by Dale to the field of adult education.

First, we should recognize that there is no one "best" type of material or experience. Each one may be "best" in some specific learning situation.

Second, we should be on guard against excessive dependence upon verbal symbols for the accomplishment of our purposes. It has been said that nothing is as cheap as talk, and printed materials are relatively inexpensive and easy to obtain. There is a temptation to depend on verbal procedures because they are cheap and convenient even though our knowledge of the learning process might suggest that more concrete methods of presentation would be more effective.

Third, we should continually think in terms of the thoughtful integration of different kinds of material and experiences into an effective teaching-learning pattern. In general, experience shows that exposure to a concept through several kinds of material—for example, through newspaper stories, radio, motion picture, and face-to-face discussion—is much more effective than a concentration on any one type of material. This point is emphasized by the material from the Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service presented in Chapter 5.

It seems desirable after this general discussion of the various kinds of teaching-learning materials to call attention to some of the special problems faced by workers in adult education in this area. The next selection is by Robertson Sillars.[3]

In their most general reference, educational materials are the elements from which the educator builds a bridge to enable the learner to pass from where he is to where he wants to be. If all learners started at the same point and aspired

to the same goal, the provision of the proper materials would be relatively simple. But people differ, not only in the experience, knowledge, skills, attitudes, abilities, and interests that they bring to the learning enterprise, but also in the problems that they wish to solve and the satisfactions that they seek through education. . . .

Thus, we can never choose or assess materials wisely except as they are viewed as aids in a program oriented to the learner's motives, interests, capacities, and skills. Of these, his motives, his objectives, are of first importance. They are, in the last analysis, the only motor that can be depended upon to power the adult education enterprise.

The selection of materials is governed by the same considerations that determine the content of the course. How and under what circumstances shall we use books? What books shall we use? What types of learning can be advanced most effectively by motion pictures? What occasions and purposes make recordings appropriate? These and kindred questions cannot be answered without specific reference to the learner's characteristics.

At this point a practical difficulty presents itself. While it is true that education is, in the last analysis, individually consumed, it is also true that effective materials must be mass-produced. The magnitude of the need and considerations of technical competence and economy make mass production mandatory. The problem, then, is to satisfy the needs of the individual under conditions of standardized mass production of printed materials, motion pictures, recordings, and so forth.

This is one of those massive, long-term problems of adult education that arise, like adult education itself, from the nature of modern industrial society. It can be solved only by conscious planning at all stages in the process of *producing, evaluating, classifying, selecting, distribution*, and *using* materials.

Each of these aspects of the problem of materials has been discussed, studied, and dealt with practically in one way or another, over the years. The subject has never been expounded comprehensively, nor have the materials for such a study ever been brought together. Nevertheless, certain patterns of adaptation to the conditions of the problem have begun to emerge with sufficient clarity to bear at least tentative statement.

As we have already noted, the *use* of materials by learners is the final end toward which all phases of production and distribution are directed. Therefore, it is only in terms of this end that the crucial questions arising at each stage of the process can be answered. For example, the paradox of mass production and individual consumption of materials can be dealt with in certain types of education by the segregation of learners into definite occupational and interest groups. When the group's objectives are sufficiently precise and concrete, as in many phases of the agricultural extension program and vocational and military training, the problems involved in providing materials are much simplified. Such

groups, organized for education and training to achieve common or closely similar purposes, constitute a clientele of known numbers, characteristics, and needs. Moreover, patterns for programs and curricula have been worked out, giving those who produce materials the guidance that comes from knowing how they are to be used.

The situation, however, is quite different when we approach that broad area of educational activity directed toward spreading the knowledge and establishing the attitudes that are necessary for personal satisfaction, and for constructive participation in democracy. This is the area of critical challenge to adult education. . . .

It is in this kind of situation that we find the significance of the warning that "civilization is a race between education and disaster," and the necessity for what James Harvey Robinson called "the humanizing of knowledge." If the knowledge of specialists is to be made available to the layman, it must be presented in a form that is understandable, usable, and interesting. This is a formidable undertaking. Major obstacles are the division of knowledge into "subject," the habit of regarding knowledge as an end in itself, and the inability of most specialists to communicate their knowledge in terms of the layman's experience.

As a result of research in the field of communications there is already considerable knowledge of how clarity and interest can be achieved. But knowledge of how to produce educational communications cannot be widely applied unless there exist reliable consumer demand and channels of distribution. In recent years the practice has grown up of hawking educational wares in the already well-established recreational market. Products of varying degrees of educational significance are found among the output of digest magazines; low-priced, paper-bound books; the studios of radio networks and of theatrical motion picture producers. This development is promising and suggestive of large future possibilities. It tends to break down the unwholesome distinction between education and recreation as human activities and to make the popular media of communication the vehicles for genuinely popular education.

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When we think in this way of the *use* to which educational communications are put by the people who receive them, the task of distribution is seen to be not simply to reach the greatest number of people, but to get the right materials to the right people under circumstances in which the materials will be useful in solving their problems.

As in the case of so many of the tasks confronting adult education, there is no way of doing this job except as one aspect of community organization. There are two basic reasons why this is so.

In the first place, materials of the type needed are not likely to be forthcoming on a socially adequate scale except in response to the needs of organized educational effort in the community. If people—as individuals, as groups, as com-

munities—are engaged in *doing something* about the problems that beset them, their very activity will define the nature of the help they need. On the basis of the demand thus created, educators, librarians, group and community leaders can select the most appropriate materials from those now available and, if they act in concert, they can stimulate the production of new materials more sensitively attuned to educational needs.

In the second place, community organization is necessary to create conditions under which existing materials may be made available to those who can benefit from them. Coordination of activities for the achievement of common purposes, on the part of schools, libraries, trade unions, business organizations, various voluntary groups, and other local agencies, almost inevitably affects the provision of educational materials for their community. At some stage in the process of organization, the participating agencies take steps to pool their knowledge of materials, to make evaluation and selection easier and more reliable, and to increase the efficiency of distribution.

As a result of the trend in recent years toward more effective community organization of educational services, it is no longer novel to find libraries and schools participating in adult education as a regular activity. Many libraries, conscious of their unique responsibility for the diffusion of knowledge among adults, have added to their book collections and periodical files growing collections of pamphlets, information bulletins, motion pictures, filmstrips, and recordings. In some communities, cooperating agencies arrange previews of films and displays and demonstrations of the use of new materials. Important assistance in procuring materials is brought to local adult educators by state education departments, and by such national cooperative clearinghouse agencies as the Educational Film Library Association. Local branches of men's and women's associations receive aid from their associations' national headquarters in the planning of educational programs and the selection of materials. Such aid is of greatest value when it is auxiliary to, and not a substitute for, local initiative and self-determination in these matters.

In conclusion, it seems wise to point again to the danger of concentrating attention on materials or media of communication, without specific reference to what is done with the communications by those who receive them. The disadvantages of being instructed or informed when there is no occasion to act on the instructions, or to use the information, are sufficiently clear to convince us that it is not important simply to spread knowledge—to get people to read certain books, see certain films, hear certain radio programs. Unless people are trying to solve personal or social problems, and unless materials adapted to aid in the solution of those problems are made available, the widest use of the latest media will accomplish pitifully little in bringing about the satisfying, participating adjustment to society that is the substance of democratic living.

The selections thus far presented in this chapter have been concerned with adult-education materials in general. Because each of the major kinds of material appears to have peculiar and unique advantages and problems it now seems desirable to consider each of them separately. We shall turn our attention first to materials to be read and shall then consider radio and television and, finally, motion pictures.

Duplicated printed materials have several unique advantages over other materials mentioned. They are relatively inexpensive. They can be produced on short notice to meet special needs and situations. They can be easily distributed, and the consumer needs no special equipment or facilities. They represent an individual learning device, since each reader reads at his own convenience, goes at his own pace, pauses when he pleases, rereads when necessary, and files away items of special interest for future reference.

In spite of these advantages, there are definite limitations to the effective use of reading materials. These limitations grow, in part, out of the low reading ability and poor reading habits of a large part of our adult population. It is important that a leader of adults recognize these limitations so as to plan for the use of reading materials in a realistic way. Knowledge of these limitations should also encourage efforts toward the improvement of reading skills and toward the development of more discriminating reading tastes.

Some helpful information concerning adult reading is provided by William S. Gray.[4]

Of large social significance is the fact that the reading proclivities of individuals within communities vary to a surprising extent. At one extreme are those who read widely along many lines; at the other extreme are those who read little or not at all. An extensive study . . . showed, for example, that about 70 per cent of all books read were reported by 21 per cent of the people questioned and that 50 per cent of those questioned reported only 6 per cent of the books read. . . .

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In final analysis, the kind and quality of the material read is of far greater importance than the amount of reading that is done. . . .

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. . . Evidence of the preference of many newspaper readers for trite and sensational news is found in the large circulation of papers of the tabloid type and in the pronounced tendency on the part of readers to direct attention to cartoons, the sport section, and items relating to personal violence and disaster. Such facts lend support to the conclusion that much of the newspaper reading in contemporary life is based on brief unrelated accounts concerning items of minor importance. In fact, one of the major educational problems which the nation faces

today relates to the need for greater interest in types of reading of large personal and social significance.

Analyses of the contents of magazines show that they include materials varying all the way from modern classics to the cheapest type of sensational materials. Studies of the circulation of magazines show that the eight or ten which are usually recognized as superior in character have relatively small circulations and the so-called popular middle-grade magazines are published in greatest numbers. There is general agreement among investigators that the current-events type of magazine contains material that is more cosmopolitan and valuable than is true of the typical newspaper. Inquiries made among children and parents reveal the fact that a surprisingly large number of magazines of the cheap sensational type "are subscribed for regularly or purchased at the newsstand. The prominence of these magazines on the home library table suggests the urgent need of campaigns among adults to elevate their tastes and to stimulate interest in magazines of a better class. . . ."

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. . . The need is urgent for additional studies to determine methods and agencies through which increased interest in good books can be stimulated among various elements in our population. The fact that more books are not read is due to lack of interest in reading, to failure to locate simple books relating to themes in which adults are interested, and to inaccessibility of books in many communities.

Results of studies made by workers in Agricultural Extension suggest that bulletins and materials prepared in relation to specific local situations are among the most effective means of bringing about changes in practices (see Chap. 5). It is possible that adult-education workers in other areas should carefully consider whether an additional output of carefully prepared reading materials, planned to meet the needs of specific groups in a specific community, would pay worthwhile educational dividends.

Nearly all workers in adult education, whether they prepare written material or not, are called upon to select reading material for adults. This calls for the same kind of basic information concerning adult reading abilities and habits as is needed for effective writing.

There is a definite relationship between the highest school grade completed and reading ability. Irving Lorge suggests that a good rule to follow for any publication is to prepare it for a level approximately 1½ grades below the average highest grade completed. Since the average highest grade reached by men in the service during World War II was only about 8.7, the application of this suggestion to material for a typical cross section of adults would probably require a difficulty of only slightly more than seventh-grade level.

Studies made of the reading difficulty of materials prepared for specific groups indicates that on the whole there is a tendency to write "over the heads" of the planned audience. In general, if material is to be easily read, the sentences should be short, the words should be familiar, and there should be numerous personal references. (See Rudolf Flesch[5] for the elaboration of these points.) Often only part of the difficulty, however, is to be blamed on the mechanics of writing.

Certain psychological factors often make reading difficult. We must remember, as Irving Lorge[6] has pointed out, that people tend to read more of what they already know—that they tend to avoid reading about those things they know little about. The meaning given to a text grows out of the reader's own background of experience and knowledge.

It is obvious that we need to know not only the level of schooling of the group we are attempting to reach but also its interests, attitudes, and general background of experience. Only on the basis of such information can reading materials be selected or prepared intelligently.

In addition to the problem of selecting or preparing printed materials which will be effective with the specific group which the educator wishes to reach, there is also the problem of distribution. The best of material is valueless unless it can be placed in the hands of people in such a way that they will utilize it.

The public-library movement is aimed at solving, within limits, this problem of bringing people and materials, especially printed materials, together. Because of the importance of the adult-education function performed by the library the authors have devoted Chapter 6 to its consideration. Libraries, on the whole, are concerned with materials which have more or less permanent value. Adult-education workers, however, are continually preparing printed and mimeographed materials, such as bulletins, reports, circulars, promotional materials, which, to be effective, must be placed quickly and directly into the hands of people in such a way that they are encouraged to read and react. Some specific suggestions as to procedure in this complicated task are given in Chapter 16, which deals with publicity and public relations.

Radio and television are going through a period of such change and transition that it is impossible to predict the developments of the next few years. Adult-education workers are aware of the great potential of both radio and television as media for reaching the masses of the people. How this is to be done and the relationships which will be developed between radio and television and between these media and institutions and organizations engaged in adult education is not yet very clear.

The first selection dealing with radio points out that it is an important community resource and indicates some steps which may be taken by community groups to raise the level of radio programming in their communities. We then turn to the experience of an adult-education department in the production of programs broadcast over commercial stations, then to an experiment in utilizing

commercial broadcasts for a general adult course, and finally to a discussion of broadcasting by educational stations in colleges and universities.

The following selection, by Dorothy M. Frost, is concerned with the radio as a community resource:[7]

Radio is a public asset, a public responsibility, and a public necessity . . . it has also all the elements that can strengthen or break down a democratic way of life. Yet as a community resource, its vast potentialities are so far almost untapped.

Let's examine a few facts in connection with this startling medium of communication. In early 1945 at least 33,000,000 of the 36,544,000 American families had radios. From national and regional surveys, it has also been estimated that the average man or woman, boy or girl, spends from 3½ to 4 hours every day listening to the radio, or about 25 hours a week.

This figure is all the more significant when we contrast it with the estimated time spent on the other media of communication—newspapers, magazines, and moving pictures. Estimates here indicate that the average American spends approximately 30 minutes a day with his newspaper, 16 minutes a day on his magazines, and about an hour a week attending the movies. This is little more than 5 hours a week for all three—one-fifth the time spent listening to the radio. Now, when we contrast the estimated listening time with the time a child spends in school, we are again struck with the depth of radio's permeation. A child is in school about 5½ hours a day, 5 days a week for approximately 36 weeks. At the same time he spends 3½ to 4 hours each day, 7 days a week for 52 weeks listening to his favorite programs.

It is obvious, then, that first as citizens and then as educators we have both a stake in and an obligation toward this medium which can exert such an influence over our own thoughts, the thoughts of our children, and of our neighbors. . . .

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This brings us to the actual problem of the day: What can we as individuals do about it? What I'm going to outline represents a resumé of many related avenues of approach to the problem, all of which need to be recognized and carried along concurrently. Most of them are not elaborate, and can be effected by a small team of interested individuals.

In the first place, let us examine the matter of the radio diet coming into your community. Every station, as you undoubtedly know, operates under a license issued by the FCC. The Federal Communications Commission was set up to safeguard the people's rights in the air waves. As a part of the pledge which each station operator must make when he applies for a license to use the air waves, he must promise to devote a certain proportion of each 24-hour day to

broadcasts in "the public interest, convenience, and necessity." Failure to do so makes him liable to revocation of the privilege of broadcasting.

Thus by Federal law he is required to carry non-commercial sustaining programs. It is in this area that many of the educational and public service broadcasts fall. Newscasts, panel discussions, political speeches, musical programs, etc., are scheduled for this period. In this field the station manager is most anxious for assistance from the community concerning types of programs to be presented. He is a business man, wanting both to serve the community and to keep his station solvent. At the same time he probably has a business connection with a radio network under which he contracts to carry a certain percentage of network commercially-sponsored programs, as well as an optional amount of network sustaining programs. He is faced with the tremendous task of selecting what he thinks the people in his community want from among the commercial and sustaining network shows, and of saving some time for local advertising and local public service programs. Naturally, his selection is going to be influenced by his own point of view unless we, as citizens, indicate our interest and tell him what we want.

Activity number one, then, would be to set about surveying the radio diet of your community. It can become a fascinating project when members of the community recognize its purpose. Here your avenue of approach could be through the various school PTA groups. The PTA constitution . . . provides for a radio chairman for each unit, and has a quite effective national radio committee. Through this channel, listening groups could be organized which would cover certain segments of each day, listening to each program and evaluating it for its positive or negative effects.

. . . If other civic groups, service organizations, or church guilds wish to cooperate through their radio committees, so much the better. Put those radio committees to work! Most service organizations have them and use them only in the limited capacity of planning their own radio programs when they want to sell an idea to the community. Let these organizations turn in their reports to the PTA, which with the school could then work out a log of recommended programs.

This first activity depends upon a pre-agreed standard of evaluation, however. Hence as activity number one is instituted, activity number two must be operating. That is, application of a set of standards to each program. In the first conference, discussion must begin and tentative standards be set up concerning what makes a program good. There are only a few principles involved. First, an understanding of why people listen. Perhaps it's critically, to learn. Here would fall such broadcasts as panel discussions, newscasts, talks, commentators, UN news, great drama, etc. Or, it might be to be entertained. Here we would find variety shows, comedy, drama, light music, etc. Finally, people might listen to escape from the pressures of present problems. In this area would fall classical music, literature, religious programs, etc.

With this in mind, then, the first question to ask about a program would be, "What is its purpose?" After this has been decided one could consider the following criteria as they applied:

(1) What is its intrinsic value within that purpose? Is it authentic and honest?
(2) Does it stress positive human values? In the field of human relations? Cooperative living? Intercultural understanding?
(3) Does it have artistic quality and integrity?
(4) Does it have good entertainment value? Do people enjoy it?
(5) Does it stay within the realm of good English and diction?
(6) Is it within the intelligence level and scope of imagination of the audience for whom it was intended?

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Now, having set up standards of evaluation and having begun the survey of your local radio programs, you will discover that there are many to which you will be able to give immediate and whole-hearted support. The third activity will be to publicize these programs through the school and the community. There are many ways of doing this. For instance, with the help of the high school English department, a mimeographed weekly bulletin of recommended programs might be distributed among the children and the PTA, concentrating each week on a few selected programs in each field of listening, with a brief explanation of the type of program and general content. Your station manager will be happy to supply any advance information available on these and other programs. In fact, if this project is entered into in a spirit of friendly cooperation and mutual understanding, you will find many avenues of contact with your radio station opened to you. The point is that it must be thought of as a constructive project in which all will benefit.

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Now, the [next] step in this process of becoming acquainted with, publicizing, and using radio as a community resource is enriching your diet. Having found out what you have, find out what you could have if you asked for it! This ties right into the previously mentioned problems of the station manager, who is called upon to select from many sources and from many points of view what to him seems the best. Unless you know what he has to choose from you're working in the dark. Unless he knows what you want he's working in the dark. Canvass all the available sources of programs. Write to the public service departments of the four networks for complete information on their network public service and educational programs.

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One other address must not be overlooked. This source will supply free: scripts, transcriptions, recordings, bibliographies, utilization materials, and information covering the entire field of the uses of radio in education. Write to:

Federal Radio Education Committee, U.S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

From these sources you should get a broadside view of the educational possibilities of radio and of its importance as a community resource. Having absorbed this, you are in a position to select a few of the outstanding programs not yet coming into the community. Discuss the possibilities of bringing in these programs through the appropriate network channels, interest local business men or service groups in sponsoring some of the transcribed series, and through cooperative planning, within several months' time you may be able to see some interesting developments.

Adult-education workers interested in the production of radio programs to be broadcast by commercial stations in their area may be encouraged by the experience of the Hamilton, Ohio, Adult Education and Training Council as described by John B. Holden.[8]

Effective Adult Education can be accomplished through the use of commercial radio stations. During the current school year 100 educational programs have been produced and broadcast by the Hamilton Public Schools. . . .

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How did we go about getting on the air? First, we invited representatives of community groups and the manager of the radio station to discuss the objectives, the approach, and the personnel required by a radio forum. Second, a committee of the Adult Education Council worked out details and outlined budget needs for consideration of their Board of Directors. Third, the committee began to produce and promote.

This last step involved cooperation by the council committee, the radio station, and participants. . . .

The following means were used in telling the public about the series. . . .

(1) We described the program and gave the dates and topics in our directory, which was sent to every home in Hamilton (about 18,000 copies); (2) We announced the series in current issues of our monthly publication "Food for Thought"—mailing of 2,000; (3) We sent announcements home with school children; (4) We used posters in buses and downtown stores; (5) We made personal contacts with organizations that had opinions about the topic being discussed; (6) We tried to involve representatives of as many organizations as possible in the programs; and (7) We made use of newspaper and radio announcements.

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All radio programs should be planned long in advance, for normal channels of advertising through radio logs, house organs, and even communications within affiliated groups, are slow.

An interesting and significant project in the use of radio for educational purposes, involving the New York State Education Department and the National Broadcasting Company, is described by Morris Schaefer.[9]

. . . the Bureau of Adult Education of the State Education Department [New York] has utilized and is utilizing the NBC weekly documentary series, "Living, 1949" and "Living, 1950" as the basis for a full scale radio home-study course for adults. . . . By special arrangement with NBC, these documentaries are 25 minutes in length; over the NBC affiliates in New York State, all of which carry this service, the Bureau of Adult Education presents a conjunctive five-minute discussion commentary. Beyond the radio operational phase, the course involves the preparation and distribution to students of worksheets, bibliographies, and study materials; our receipt, grading and reporting to the student of weekly work papers; and the award of a non-credit certificate called the Education by Radio Citation.

This course has enrolled 2,078 students. . . . Study materials are mailed to students every three weeks. If the objective of timeliness and use of very recent study materials are to be met, we dare not attempt to set up the materials for the entire course, or even half the course in advance. . . .

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There are at least two implications of this project. The obvious implication is that here is a relatively inexpensive and an effective project that can be developed by any type of educational institution with reasonable resources. The second implication, which is even more significant in terms of the development of education by radio, is that this type of cooperation between the free system of commercial radio and educational institutions is no longer merely a possibility; the success of the contemporary living project . . . indicates that such cooperation is practical, effective, and of real educational and social significance.

All the selections on radio quoted thus far have been concerned with broadcasts from commercial stations. We turn now to material from Harold McCarthy dealing with programs from educational stations in colleges and universities.[10]

. . . With their freedom to experiment, to serve particular groups of listeners, to reach only limited audiences if necessary, these college and university stations have demonstrated that there are substantial numbers of potential listeners for a

great variety of educational programs. Regular university courses direct from the classrooms are featured by several of the stations. Agricultural information and homemaking programs are prominent on the schedules, and, in addition, the stations present courses of instruction specially written and produced in the studios—courses in world affairs, history, geography, literature, foreign languages, atomic science, international relations, community living, parent education, and a host of other subjects.

These schools and colleges which operate their own stations and studios have learned that the education which can be presented by commercial stations in their comparatively unwanted hours is not sufficient in scope and quantity to satisfy the needs of the people.

Nothing said here should be taken as gainsaying the important contributions of American commercial networks and individual radio stations to the listener's knowledge and culture. Though not commensurate with the need, the effort has, nevertheless, been great, and a survey of educational offerings reveals an impressive total.

It is important at this point, however, to recognize that networks and stations cannot be expected or depended upon to perform wholly a task which is rightly the responsibility of the educator. Schools and colleges have an inescapable obligation to use the mass medium of radio to the fullest.

When the Federal Communications Commission in January, 1945, announced the reservation of twenty FM channels for educational, non-commercial broadcasting, it gave important official recognition to the educational function of radio. By the same act, it remedied a shortcoming in the American radio structure, which has always subjected education to the competition of entertainment. Moreover, the FCC in March, 1946, called further attention to radio's social usefulness when it issued the now-famous "Bluebook," a report on the Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees. These two acts of the FCC have had profound effect on the concept of American radio and have helped immeasurably to encourage increasing educational activity.

Gratifying developments are taking place also in another area, in the field of listener interest and expression. "Better listening" organization and listener councils are emerging and growing. Through surveys, discussions, study, and demonstrations, these groups are tackling the job of developing discrimination and asserting listener needs. They have been responsible for the introduction of adult study courses on "Learning To Listen" and radio units in high school speech and English classes. The need for university courses on radio appreciation has also been recognized. National organizations, too, such as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the American Association of University Women, are giving more attention to radio as an educational force, with special emphasis on the role of the listener in realizing the potentialities of the medium.

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Out of all this study and exploration should come a new vision of radio's role in modern life, a new respect for radio as an educational tool. Our studies will surely teach us our guilt in permitting radio—and the other mass media of movies and the press—to place so much faith in mass ignorance. Certainly we shall see the folly of encouraging inherent human laziness by catering merely to existing wants. Instead of concentrating on people's wants, which are so largely influenced by what they have become accustomed to, we shall come to see the importance of serving people's *needs*. We shall discover that the need for knowledge, at home and abroad, generally exists in inverse ratio to the ability to pay, so that sales and revenue cannot be the sole guide in the use of the mass media. We shall realize that we have frittered away radio time and energy on foolishness; that now there is no time left to waste.

If our studies are searching enough and our vision keen enough, we shall develop new uses of the radio—and the film and the press—in the cultivation of the intelligence and good will upon which cooperation and human survival must rest.

Plainly, the alternatives are integration or disintegration. Fate waits, but not long, for the mass medium educator.

Television is rapidly bringing new problems, new opportunities, and new responsibilities to workers in adult education. Its educational impact is being felt not only because it offers a new and challenging medium for instructing our great body of adults but also because its entertainment hold upon the masses is so great that other interests competing for their leisure time frequently come off a poor second.

Some of the problems and opportunities presented by the rapid development of TV are discussed by Edgar Dale.[11]

The allocation of [television] wavelengths for educational use gives us a new frontier, a frontier of the mind. The use of these television stations makes possible a new common school. It enables us to envision a community of thinking and ideas, especially in the adult field, which will make it possible to reach and teach that vast group of adults who attend formal schools only ten to twelve years of their seventy years of life. Furthermore, it opens up a possibility of "organized instruction" on a large scale impossible without such a medium.

What are the hazards which lie ahead? What are the unsolved problems? First of all, some educators are concerned about the problem of expense. They realize that a minimum cost of construction of an educational TV station will be around $100,000, and a minimum operating cost will be $100,000 yearly. This is a great deal of money, but the more typical figure of $250,000 for erection of a station is only one-sixteenth of what it cost to erect the Student Union on the Ohio State University campus.

What about an operating cost of $100,00 a year? Where is this coming from? Let us suppose that a school system requires twenty-five new teachers this year to teach 750 children. The building maintenance and the salary of these teachers will cost taxpayers $100,000 a year. Will the people of that city refuse to educate these 750 children on the ground that they can't afford it? But a television station will not only help educate these children; it can help educate every single adult in its operating range. Indeed it can do more. It can exchange programs and program ideas with all other television stations.

Let us do a little more arithmetic. Let us suppose that we provide on film a two-hour daily program resource for every community TV station in the country. What would it cost? We can produce superior quality film comparable with the best commercial television at a cost of $10,000 or less for fifteen minutes. Some will cost more, of course, and some much less. Two hours of film programs on this basis would thus cost $80,000 a day and about $30,000,000 a year. Is this a lot of money? It is about thirty cents a year for each adult in the United States. We cannot argue that this is expensive. Our problem is to devise means to get this financial support. Remember, too, that in the second year of operation the films and kinescopes of the previous year would be available, thus further reducing over-all cost. Furthermore, each year this back-log of material will continue to accumulate.

Will these recorded programs and the live programs developed on these community TV stations attract audiences? We shall continue to hear the old chestnut about educators and community leaders not knowing how to entertain, that they lack showmanship. I am not concerned about their lack of ability to entertain. I shall only be concerned about their lack of ability to educate, their lack of ability to communicate. Entertainment must not be confused with education. The key word is "interest." Can the community TV stations develop interesting programs? Interest here means a program in which what is said or done has rich meaning to the person viewing the program.

Entertainment, we must remember, is a one-shot affair. Bob Hope is only as popular as his last joke. When you entertain well, you make it even harder the next time to entertain. But when you communicate rich and fruitful meaning, your ability to attract and hold the audiences becomes easier. We must never forget that there are millions of earnest adults deeply concerned about how to raise their children, how to make both ends meet, how to bring peace to a warring world, how to think through the crucial issues of the day, how to understand the great American heritage. Sometimes their curiosity has been dulled, but the inquiring mind is an unsatisfied mind. Every community can develop good "teachers" who will excite interest and inquiry. The able educator not only feeds the hungry mind but he creates an appetite for excellence where such an appetite did not exist before.

The business of the commercial broadcaster is to attract and hold attention. If that attention can be given to an advertised product, the station wil' continue to

operate. Indeed, its very success depends upon gaining and attracting that kind of attention. Its educational role is secondary, peripheral. Further, in commercial television and radio, unlike the newspaper, the advertiser is in charge of much of the "white space." For his sponsored programs he controls what goes on the air. It is, therefore, not the primary business of the commercial radio station or the advertiser to inform, to instruct. Their aim is to delight, to amuse, and if education ensues that is fine—so much the better. But if education is not a residue, the station managers and the networks and the advertisers do not worry. It is not their major concern.

The community TV station, concerned only with education, provides a diversity of product, a freedom of choice. Thus we are about to witness the development of a wholly new system of broadcasting. If we wish, we may tune in a station whose aim is primarily the enlightenment of the individual. Or we can view the programs whose primary aim is entertainment and whose support is through advertising.

Very well, what do we now do about it? First, we must realize that these community homesteads have to be staked out . . . or a commercial broadcaster can jump our claim. . . .

Second, let us realize that when you add the visual dimension to radio, you can bring far richer, far more meaningful concepts to far more people. We have long talked about making the borders of a state the edge of our campus. We have spoken with wisdom about the community school or the community college. Here is one way of reaching a community of understanding, a genuine sharing of meaning that is unique and unparalleled in educational history.

An actual example of the use being made of television in adult education is provided by this selection from the Adult Education Department of Des Moines, Iowa.[12]

Since television station WOI has been established at Ames, the Department of Adult Education has been wondering how it could, with its experience and resources, serve the people of the area through this effective new medium.

Currently one of our major concerns is to help people develop an appreciation of our way of life. With all its faults, which we recognize, democracy is the one way of life that emphasizes the worth of the individual and provides a setting in which he can most fully realize his potentialities. We felt we wanted a program that would cause people to re-examine their beliefs and that would bring the merits of their way of life to the foreground of their consciousness. Since we have had considerable experience with film-discussions, a series of televised film-discussions was decided upon. . . . Many persons were brought into the planning

and eventually a pattern was evolved which seemed to be of intrinsic worth and to possess ingredients that would make it interesting.

"What Do *You* Think?" is a half-hour program scheduled for the 7 to 7:30 hour on Wednesday evenings. It consists of a short introductory sequence showing several persons gathered around a television set in a living room. The set is turned on and the group views seven or eight minutes of a film which stresses one of the beliefs to which we pay lip service. After the showing, the group being televised discusses some of the aspects of the problem of how we are to live up to our beliefs. Trial discussions have been lively and interesting. They end with the statement, "You have heard *our* ideas, now what do *you* think?" Listening groups are encouraged to telephone in their reactions to specific problems or issues posed and these calls are received and discussed during the program.

In launching the program, all retailers of television sets and firms who service television sets were contacted to secure the names of all television set owners in the area. These were sent letters telling of the new program and inviting them to bring their neighbors in to view it and discuss the issues. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Des Moines Adult Education Council (18 in number) each agreed to see that at least one listening group was established which would telephone in its reactions and report on the effectiveness of the programs.

This would seem to be a program of considerable worth and interest. Here is an opportunity for friends and neighbors to see an important matter presented, to discuss it, and to make up their minds as to what they really believe. It is only one example of how television can be used for adult educational purposes. On a more definitely instructional level we hope that later on programs can be conducted by which mothers will be given help with the problems of helping their children achieve greater mental and physical health, on the preparation of better balanced meals, and on such matters as promoting family-type recreation and that we can move on to other types of educational activity.

Another example of the educational use of television can be found in Chapter 4, in which the television program of Western Reserve University is described.

Films have been used extensively in adult education for many years. Their effectiveness in holding interest, in presenting certain types of informational content, and in arousing an emotional response have been well established. In spite of this, however, the effective use of motion pictures by adult groups has been disappointingly slow in development. Local program planners too often are not aware of the rich film resources available; if they do know, they are frequently discouraged by the difficulties encountered in getting the film booked for the date desired and in making local arrangements for a projector, a suitable room, a projectionist, etc., and finally, if these obstacles have been overcome, they are frequently disappointed by the ineffective utilization of the film material. Too

often the film is used as an end in itself rather than as a means to stimulate thought and bring information which will help a group think through significant problems. The practice of integrating the film into a pattern of learning activities which may include the reading of related materials before the film viewing and a group discussion immediately afterwards has been the exception rather than the rule. The Fund for Adult Education, recognizing both the potential value of the film and the obstacles faced by adult educators in its use, has promoted an Experimental Film Discussion Project designed to integrate the use of films with specially prepared printed materials. It was hoped that this "packet" approach would provide film users with the extra help and suggestions necessary to overcome some of the difficulties frequently encountered. This project is described by Glen Burch.[13]

. . . the Fund for Adult Education decided, in the summer of 1951, to conduct some extensive experimentation with a new approach to the stimulation of group discussion of important issues. It proposed to develop several short courses dealing with significant ideas and subjects in which a combination of materials—essays, films, guides, charts—might be used to provide the common background of shared experience basic to productive group discussion. . . .

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Accordingly, it was decided to develop a series of nine programs in which selected 16 mm educational or documentary films, and short, especially prepared essays would be used to provide group members with a minimum common background. In addition, specially prepared discussion guides, containing procedural suggestions and questions for discussion, were envisaged, designed to be used by individuals who had little experience or training in group discussion leadership.

The title chosen for this first series of experimental film discussion programs was "Great Men and Great Issues in Our American Heritage."

From the beginning the role of the motion picture in this combination of background materials for the discussion programs on Great Men and Great Issues was seen primarily as that of being a "device to entice," and of providing a group of people with a common experience. Since the films to be used in the series—unlike the proposed printed materials—could not be especially made for this purpose but would have to be chosen from existing films, it was recognized that they could do little beyond reviewing the salient episodes in the lives of the statesmen selected. If they could, however, establish a mood, give quickly a background for the period, and sketch some of the major problems of each of the statesmen, they would, it was felt, provide a useful common experience to group members.

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The brief essays, to be read at home in advance of each group discussion, were intended by the Project Staff to present in readable, interesting fashion, the

basic factual background materials against which group discussion could take place.

Well-known historians, several of whom had collaborated in the production of the films selected for the series, were invited to prepare these essays. Around 2000 words in length, the essays provided concise statements of some of the major issues each statesman faced and a brief sketch of the period in which he lived. A bibliography of selected references followed each essay.

To provide group leaders with help in putting on and leading the discussion meetings, specialists in adult discussion leadership techniques prepared individual leader guides for each program. These carried suggested material for use in introducing the films, questions for discussion, illustrated checklist of hints on good discussion leader practices, and suggestions as to room arrangements necessary to insure a good meeting.

As a supplement to leaders' guides, a four-page illustrated leaflet called "Bridging the Gap Between Viewing and Discussing" was prepared by the Director of the Project, suggesting techniques for opening a group discussion following the screening of the film.

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. . . They [the discussion programs] were tried out with 61 diverse groups of people in 27 different states. A majority of the people enrolled stuck with the series. They said they liked them—the films, the essays, the guides—but most of all the idea behind the program. They made some useful suggestions and criticisms of the materials. They said they thought the issues discussed were important. They said they had learned a lot from the programs. And they said they would like to do something like this again—and soon.

The most important tentative conclusions that may be drawn from this experiment on the basis of progress to date are as follows:

1. That a carefully developed combination of selected films and specially prepared printed materials provide a unique and stimulating preparation of group members for free, informal discussion and the kind of situation in which relatively untrained discussion leaders can function with maximum efficiency. Furthermore, this series of meetings evidently provides an admirable training situation for new and inexperienced leaders. . . .

2. That films not especially prepared for adult discussion purposes, if containing a modicum of material relevant to the discussion topics, will give substantial assistance to groups by (*a*) providing some information readily, and (*b*) providing it simultaneously to all—as a *common experience*. Another important consideration in connection with the use of films in this kind of a program is that their use attracts a substantial number of people to the meetings who would not otherwise be present. In brief, people want such programs.

3. That the problem of supplying specific films to adult groups in a wide variety of locations can be solved if the initiating organization will do some ad-

vance planning and coordination of existing film resources. It must be admitted that distribution to 60 or 70 groups is less complicated than to many hundreds or thousands. It will take more time to discover whether the Fund has found the solution for this problem.

4. That people can be counted on to follow through on a rather long series of informal discussion programs if they consider the theme of sufficient importance, and if the materials used are interesting and appealing. It is yet to be proved, of course, that the follow-through will be as consistent if the special conditions of an experiment situation do not exist.

5. That people attracted to a film discussion program, if presented with concise, attractively prepared printed materials, will do reading in advance of a discussion meeting.

For many people, the first series of film discussion programs developed by the Fund filled an educational need. On the basis of the results of this test run, the series can now be offered, with confidence, to groups all over the country as truly "community tested" programs.

The point made early in this chapter regarding the integrated use of materials has been well illustrated by Burch's description of the Experimental Film Discussion Project, in which essays, discussion leaders' guides, and posters were all used with films to stimulate discussion in a face-to-face situation. The importance of this integrated use is further emphasized in the following selection from *New Tools for Learning.*[14]

Most of the economic and social problems in the modern world are so complex that the educational job of getting mass understanding of the choices before us is going to be difficult under the best of circumstances. All the more reason, therefore, why teachers, discussion leaders, and program chairmen should capitalize on all the newer media of communication which can now be employed in the educational process. The major purpose of this guide is to facilitate the combined use of related materials supplied through films, pamphlets, radio and recordings. Such materials, used in learning situations which provide opportunity for the sharing of ideas and experiences through free discussion, will help to reduce civic illiteracy and promote intelligent citizen participation in the solution of our common problems.

There is no one sure-fire method of using films, pamphlets, and recordings in combination as an aid to learning through study and discussion. Our purpose here is to suggest by illustration some of the ways in which these materials can be so used and to list a few of the hints to teachers and discussion leaders which experience has shown to be most useful.

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Illustration

The first meeting of a series planned by a community church Federal Credit Union (1½ hours)

Steps:

1. Sample copies of Public Affairs Pamphlet . . . , *Credit Unions—The People's Banks* have been sent to the Board of Directors of the credit union, and placed in the hands of the Educational Committee.
2. Chairman announces the purpose of the meeting.
3. Playing of 15-minute Credit Union Recording . . . , telling of the origin of the Credit Union movement, the purpose, and describing a credit union in action.
4. Film on cooperatives, *Here Is Tomorrow,* 30 minutes (3 reels). . . .
5. Thirty-minute discussion, based on the recording and film, leads to consideration of current state and federal laws on such questions as installment buying—and to analysis of specific community problems that a credit union can help to meet.
6. Additional copies of the pamphlet are distributed. Subsequent meetings, planned similarly, include: discussions on "loan sharks," health problems, insurance, purchase of war bonds, etc.

Suggestions to Teachers and Discussion Leaders

1. *Plan discussion meetings for a related series of topics employing different media at different times, singly and in combination.* Instead of allotting one hour or hour and a half session to a topic like "The War on the Home Front," make such a subject the theme for a series of meetings on discussion questions such as those suggested in Section Three of this guide. Reduce the topic to manageable proportions at which point a group can then begin to make effective use of related films, pamphlets, and recordings.
2. *Remember that there are still only sixty minutes in an hour.* With the wealth of material available on many topics, it is a great temptation to a program chairman or discussion leader to "shoot the works" with the result that there is often little or no time left in the meeting for group discussion and mastication of the material presented. It may or may not be desirable, for example, to use pamphlets, a film and a recording in the same meeting. The point is that whenever possible in the exploration of a problem, over a series of meetings perhaps, the members of the group should be exposed to more than one type of informing experience.
3. *Familiarize yourself with the materials you propose to use with your group.* See the film, *hear* the recording, *study* the pamphlets which you plan to use to determine how best they can be adapted to the purposes, interests, and needs of the group. Does the film give background information on the problem in a vivid and striking way? Does the recording dramatize the problem before the

group and help its members to see more clearly the basic principles or choices which the problem presents? Are the pamphlets readable, well-illustrated, authoritative without being "highbrow"? Most important of all, do the materials help the group to achieve its purposes and how can you, the leader, plan the use of the materials so as to create the best possible learning opportunities? Good discussion rarely just happens and all the films, recordings, and pamphlets in the world won't produce effective learning unless the teacher or the leader is willing to invest in the kind of preparatory effort suggested here.

4. *Get to be a "Handy Andy" in the use of new tools.* You don't have to take a course in engineering to learn how to operate a movie projector or playback equipment for a recording, and a little time and attention to the mechanics of the program will pay dividends in the long run.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that many of the problems faced by workers in adult education in the effective use of materials have to do with selection, with location of sources, and with making local arrangements for equipment, facilities, operators, etc. It seems that organization on the community level may well be the best solution to these problems as well as to many others mentioned in this volume. Local film councils have been established under the sponsorship of the Film Council of America in many American cities. In some smaller communities film-information centers in public libraries or schools provide information to program planners and other film users.

In other situations adult-education departments are providing adult groups in their area with services designed to help them to use educational materials more effectively. An outstanding example of such service is that provided by the Adult and Extension Division of the Schenectady, New York, Public Schools. The Division publishes a *Guide to Materials and Program Service*, which indicates that among the available services are counselling on program plans, scheduling of materials and equipment, instruction in the use of materials and operation of equipment, and leadership-training classes and conferences. The guide also indicates that the following materials may be obtained from the Division: filmstrips, motion pictures, recordings, maps, charts, pamphlets, collected clippings, opinion-meter, record players, projectors, and screens necessary for the use of any of the materials mentioned above. The Division provides its services and materials free of charge to any adult group in the Schenectady area.

Although organization on the community level, as indicated, will help to solve many problems associated with the effective use of materials, it is probable that the problems connected with the distribution of educational motion pictures can be solved only by more effective cooperation at the regional level. It seems to many film users that our present film-distribution system is inefficient, wasteful, and incapable of providing effective service to patrons. It is a system that has

grown up by chance, without regional or national planning. It is built primarily on the idea of libraries' servicing, basically, a specific political unit—generally a state but frequently a county or a city. This basic concept of serving a political area is fundamentally inefficient. It has developed, of course, because institutional film libraries are generally partly tax supported and serve the district, primarily, from which the taxes are raised.

If we could in some way get away from this concept of service to a political or tax area and operate on the basis of efficient transportation areas, we could make a tremendous saving both in the amount of time films spend in transit and in transportation costs.

The great majority of our film libraries are relatively small and have few duplicate prints. This is a handicap to the film user, for many times he will not find the title he wishes to use in the catalogue of the library he patronizes (generally his state institution) and he does not know where else it might be available. Many film users book almost entirely from one source. Because of the few duplicate prints in each library, large numbers of patrons cannot get the prints when they need them and consequently do not get them at all. It is quite possible that the film they wish is on the shelf of a neighboring library.

It has been suggested that a cooperative regional film-distribution service, in which a number of institutional libraries could pool their resources, might be the best solution now possible. Such a project might well provide for a regional film catalogue listing all films available in the area. It might also provide for a centralized booking agency, making it possible for a patron to order any film in the region from one source. He would then be assured that if there were a single unbooked print in any cooperating library, his order would be filled.

There are other fascinating possibilities in the idea of cooperative regional or national planning which space does not permit elaborating.

One illustration of the effectiveness of this cooperative approach is the outstanding service developed by the tape network of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. It provides for the exchange of the best programs of its member stations and in addition acquires and distributes programs from other agencies which produce programs of educational significance.

The most challenging frontier in the whole area of the mass media lies in developing organization on the community, regional, and national levels to make possible more effective utilization of the wealth of good materials now available.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

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IN OUR COMPLEX MODERN SOCIETY, with its multiplicity of activities, the problem of establishing and maintaining channels of communication becomes very difficult. For this reason public relations has become an area involving a high degree of technical skill, presided over increasingly by persons with special training. A number of generalizations growing out of a more systematic approach can be of help to adult education generally.

We use the term "public relations" to cover the various aspects of maintaining adequate communication among groups in a community. The term "publicity" frequently appears among the list of problems with which an adult educator must cope. We include this as a part of the total problem which we shall deal with in this chapter.

It sometimes seems rather odd that with all our means of transmitting information there should be any problem of communicating. Newspapers reach over 90 per cent of the adult population; almost everyone has access to a radio; magazines and books have large circulations; television and the newsreels are seen by millions; and low postage rates encourage widespread mailings of pamphlets and letters. Yet polls are constantly reminding us that as many as half—and sometimes more—of the adults are not well informed on matters of great public concern. In Cincinnati, for example, where the citizenry is certainly at least

average in alertness to current issues, less than half of a sample of the population could answer relatively simple questions about the United Nations. This was all the more surprising because it came at the time when the UN was being established and there was rather widespread discussion of it throughout the nation.

In the kind of democratic adult education which is the focus of this book, the problem of public relations can be defined as one of building a pattern of communication which enables each group to have an effective working relationship with every other group with which it shares critical decisions.

There are four terms in this statement—"pattern of communication," "group," "working relationship," and "shares critical decisions"—which require explanation as to how we are using them.

Pattern of Communication

Communication is sometimes thought of as a one-way channel by which important information which we have reaches *B* and *C* and all the other persons who we believe should receive it. Certainly this is a part of the process, but it is only a small beginning. If we assume that the purpose of communication is action, the test of its effectiveness must lie at the action point. We are using action in a broad sense and we recognize that much verbal communication, for example, is quite casual and seemingly unfocused to any action. We greet someone with a "Hello," or we say, "Excuse me" to a total stranger. Analysis would reveal that behind these is an actual or potential interrelationship of persons. The manner of saying these things conveys much. As Samuel McCord Crothers once said, "Some people can't say 'Good Morning' without having it sound like an inquisition." In so far as we are able to move toward a more personal and less anonymous community as stressed in this book, these interrelations will become increasingly important.

Emphasis on decision-making means, in a democracy, a shared understanding. If you and I are to reach a satisfying common action, each of us must be clear about meanings. Enough has been written in recent years to illustrate the frequency of situations in which persons who thought they understood each other found that they did not.

Group

We place stress on the group not because we think the individual is unimportant but because we feel that increasingly the group will be the major unit of action. It should be clear from other chapters that we recognize the central psychological role of the individual and that desirable group decisions are those which give each member full opportunity to share in them and benefit from them. We have tried to make clear that "sharing" should generally be more than mere accepting. On this basis we find no dichotomy between the individual and the group in relation to the problem of communication.

The person who is concerned with public relations will, for practical reasons, do his planning primarily in terms of groups. There is a finite limit to the number of groups with which it is possible to work. If adult-education leaders understand the major groups in their community and work toward sound channels of interrelations among these groups, this will be a major undertaking but a feasible one. It would seem almost impossible in any community of more than a few hundred persons to do it in terms of single individuals. If the problem is well handled in terms of groups, the needs of the great percentage of adults will be met.

Working Relationship

The use of the term *working relationship* has been fairly well developed in our discussion of the two preceding points. We see the community reaching decisions through the interaction of groups. The process by which a collection of groups achieves a consensus is, in its broad aspects, the same as the process by which the members of a group reach a decision. As is more clearly indicated in Chapter 13, it will be most effective when there is understanding among all regarding role responsibilities and skills in applying these roles to the group tasks.

The community today is only at the beginning of the "group action" pattern. We still have to devise new procedures at many points, since many of our present ones were devised when there was much greater homogeneity in small communities and individual action was the rule.

Shared Critical Decisions

The essential point here is the word *critical.* Again the problem is a practical one: which groups have enough of a stake in the decision to make it imperative to involve them? It will always be a matter of degree, and a good general rule is to be certain that all possible groups know about the pending decision area and feel free to join in the process if they desire.

Within this framework, let us return to our immediate concern for public relations. We have tried to indicate a broad framework and a direction toward which to work and by which we can test the immediate steps we take.

Some Guides to Good Public Relations

The democratic program of adult education, focused in the local community and built out of the needs of the citizens and the resources which they can command, will meet many needs of public relations through the active participation of a wide range of members of the community. If people feel a personal stake in a program, the "public relations" are inherent and the publicity problem is simplified. In any kind of situation, some procedures are better than others. In programs that are only starting to move toward such widespread participation, procedures become of much greater importance.

We shall focus the material in this chapter on the situation faced by the director of an adult education program, which might be in a public school, a

library, a Y.M.C.A., or something else. What principles should be followed in planning a program to build solid relationships with his community? A useful set of principles has been set forth in the 1950 Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, which was entitled *Public Relations for America's Schools.* Although the principles are discussed in terms of the over-all public-school program, they are applicable to any adult-education program.[1]

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Even those who insist that public relations is nothing more than the application of common sense to human relations can scarcely deny that common sense practices can be organized and cataloged. When limits are set on common sense practice, even tho somewhat artificial ones at first, and when ideas, facts, and experiences are marshalled and organized, certain working rules substantiated by experience and fact gradually develop. These working rules then become principles, subject to revision upon the application of further evidence, but serving in the meantime as the most valid known rules for the approach to everyday problems. Thus, from the crucible of experience some of the principles of school public relations are beginning to emerge.

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Sound school public relations must be *honest* in intent and execution, *intrinsic* in the school program, *continuous* in application, *positive* in approach, *comprehensive* in character, *sensitive* to the publics concerned, and *simple* in meaning and conception. The words here italicized are keys to a set of principles, or working rules, which are believed to be fundamental to a successful plan of . . . public relations.

SCHOOL PUBLIC RELATIONS MUST BE HONEST IN INTENT AND EXECUTION

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The public relations program must be in the first instance identified with honesty or integrity. This is undeniably so, for by the very nature of public relations the character of its effort is on display for critical examination by numerous publics. Any misrepresentation carries not only the burden of its own lost opportunity to inform, but the doubled penalty of eventual public censure and wrath.

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If the school system is to enjoy successful public relations, what it says must be identified with what it does. This requirement calls for the most intimate understanding and cooperation between the public relations head and the school executive and teaching staff. The public relations of many a school district collapses because its educational achievements fail to measure up to the educational structure described in the publicity. If great claims are made on the basis of completeness of vocational training equipment, the school must see to it in every way possible that the graduates of the program are actually employable. Much

more is involved than mere familiarity with the shop machines. Every department of the school has a responsibility; the graduate will be studied for his citizenship, his skill with English and mathematics, and his work habits and attitudes.

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School Public Relations Must Be Intrinsic

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In this all-inclusive sense the school public relations effort is not contained in the utterances of the central office or the public relations director. The everyday contacts of teachers and other school employees with the children of a community or their parents are in themselves public relations of the most personal and effective sort—both for good and for ill. Any program which aims to supplement the effectiveness of these everyday contacts cannot be out of harmony with the aims and methods which are found in the classroom itself. The publics resent being fooled and react vigorously when they feel they have been misguided.

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This principle means, therefore, that the public relations value of the educational program itself is the proper basis for the school public relations effort. A public relations effort so conceived will be intrinsic. At the same time, the artistry of the public relations effort will be in its anonymity as well as in its intrinsic quality. In the seventeenth century, Alexander Pope wrote:

> *Men must be taught as though you taught them not,*
> *And things unknown proposed as things forgot.*

School Public Relations Must Be Continuous

Perhaps one of the most harmful mistakes in public relations strategy is the notion that the public relations effort is essentially a series of crises. Crises do sometimes occur in public relations, but the brilliant thrusts in such situations must not be regarded as characteristically the heart of the public relations plan. Military victories are fundamentally based on long-range planning, careful preparation in terms of training and accumulation of force, unbroken lines of production and supply, proper dispersal or concentration of effort as needed, accurate intelligence, and unremitting pressure upon the vulnerable points in the opposition. These military principles are not concepts of "dash and flash." They are the principles which assume victory at the end of a long period of preparation and effort. So it is with public relations.

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School Public Relations Must Be Positive in Approach

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Negative statements should be studiously avoided in dealing with school publics. Denials usually are wasted breath. Statements regarding what the

schools are not doing generally are misguided and should always give way to a positive statement of what the schools are doing. Especially in large publics few opinions are changed by being disproved. People do not like to be contradicted. The substitution of a more valid opinion is much easier than the simple dismissal of a less valid one. The evidence is conclusive that change in public opinion is best brought about by specific positive appeal repeated often enough and with sufficient evidence to receive acceptance. William James once referred to Wundt as a perfect professor because he had a positive opinion on every subject and, also having an excellent memory, he never forgot what his opinions were.

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School Public Relations Should Be Comprehensive

School public relations should be broad and varied—broad in the sense that no phase of the school program is ignored and no segment of the staff is excluded; varied in that no possible medium of contact with any public shall be missed. The very organization of this yearbook recognizes the principle of comprehensiveness.

Opinion polls on what is most important in education have consistently indicated that the schools' publics tend to think in terms of the whole educational program. They have not interpreted the successes of their schools only in terms of the more showy outcomes. Even the early studies of Belmont Farley in the 1920's showed that school patrons were not getting the information about their schools which they really desired. The national survey of the National Opinion Research Center revealed in 1944 that patrons placed satisfactory achievement in regular school subjects and character education first in their desires for educational outcomes. Yet a 1948 study of school news shows that the space and emphasis in news reporting still is given to so-called extracurriculum activities, in spite of all proof that news about the value of education and pupil achievement should come first.

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School Public Relations Should Be Sensitive to its Publics

School public relations should be a two-way process. Too many educators have assumed that the purpose of public relations is "to sell" the public their ideas. They have ignored the attitudes, opinions, drives, and desires of the public itself.

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The heart of . . . discoveries about man is that one must take him where one finds him and, if necessary, lead him from that point. Educators have recognized the same principle in handling the children placed under their care; the principle does not lose validity as the individual passes from youth to adulthood. Since public relations must deal with a public already opinionated and re-

sponsive to certain fundamental drives, one of the first steps is to set up the channels of communication by which the school can be kept sensitive to its publics. Altho a description of the mechanics must be left to Chapter IV of this yearbook, attention should be called to the certain failure of any public relations effort which remains insensitive to public understanding and attitude.

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The Ideas Communicated Must Be Simple

The ideas featured in school public relations should be simple rather than complex. In this connection, whether using the printed page or any of the many possibilities for vocal presentation, ideas usually are transmitted thru words. Even when using modern graphic art, it is the right word which often *makes* the picture. He who would tell an effective story to his publics must study not only the meaning but the emotional connotation of words. He must be content to use words which mean essentially the same thing to most people. These are the simple words.

Former Secretary of Labor Perkins once prepared some material for one of the famous Roosevelt fireside chats in which she used the following sentence: "We are planning an all-inclusive society." When the President used the material, the sentence had been transformed to: "We are building a society in which no one is left out." The simple touch had been added.

The Committee on Public Relations of the AEA has set forth certain principles and criteria. These were done with the national organization in mind, and we have edited them to make them fit the local program.[2]

1. Public relations deals first with discovery of attitudes, needs, interests.
2. Public relations is responsible for identifying policies and program with these attitudes, needs, and interests.
3. Public relations involves a continuous process that is intrinsic in the process of educating adults.
4. Good public relations requires integrity in all dealings with members and the public.
5. Good public relations for this program requires that persons concerned with adult education be able to identify with the program.
6. Only those techniques of public relations which are in keeping with good adult education procedures should be used.
7. The public relations of the program is the responsibility of every member in his own locality in his own way.
8. The program, services, and activities are the chief instruments of public relations.

9. The public relations program should be dynamic in terms of being keyed to the current social scene.

What do these principles mean at the community level? Something of the feel of what they mean can be appreciated through one of the community stories Jean and Jess Ogden have reported. This one is included in the case histories presented in *Small Communities in Action.* It is entitled "Letting People Know."[3]

"Wising up the neighborhood" was the stated purpose of a New York Settlement House Club a few years ago. The members were teen-age boys who had grown up in the city slums. They were probably kept from becoming a lawless gang by the wisdom of the young worker who gave them something constructive to do and let them do it in their own way. They realized that their neighborhood could not be improved unless the people living there knew what was wrong and what to do about it. Dramatics seemed to them the best method of informing their friends. They had to make their own plays because the problems presented were their own problems. They used the language of the neighborhood in the plays as they had in stating their purpose. In so doing they recognized a fact basic in any educational program: People can be "wised up" only if they understand the language and recognize the relation of the facts to their own lives. This neighborhood understood the crude slang of the boys. A more cultured community might recoil from it, and no souls would be saved.

The same principle is behind the preparation of material adapted to the immediate needs of a particular community program. The rural electrification cooperative of the Northern Neck of Virginia made some interesting discoveries about the effectiveness of a local newsletter in comparison with a national publication which had the same purpose but had to be more general in its treatment of material. A questionnaire was enclosed in one issue of the national magazine asking whether people wished to continue to receive it. Less than 10 per cent of the 950 members took the trouble to write "yes" or "no" and return the card. Of the 10 per cent that did reply fewer than half said they wished to receive the magazine. This was in spite of the fact that there were numerous ideas that could be applied to their own farms and homes and that these ideas were all presented in a simple and interesting way. To that community they were impersonal. They made too little direct contact with the vocabulary, personalities, and folkways of the people.

The cooperative then began the publication of its own newsletter. The name itself connected it with the area—the *Northern Neck Electric Cooperative Transformer.* The suggestions were personalized. To tell people that lights in a poultry

house would double egg production apparently had less significance than to tell them that "Mr. Smith put in lights a few weeks ago and now reports that he has doubled his daily production of eggs." Everyone knew Mr. Smith or at least knew where he lived. He was one of them. What he could do, they could do.

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In Carroll County, Georgia, a similar news exchange was started after several little cooperatives had sprung up in various parts of the county. It was sent to interested persons in communities which had no program under way as well as to those whose activities were reported. Thus it served a dual purpose—that of keeping the little cooperatives in touch with each other and that of stimulating new groups. The publication was explained as follows:

> This is the first issue of a *News Letter* which will be sent twice a month to chairmen of study groups, teachers, and others interested in cooperative organizations in our rural communities. It will report the activities of the various communities and groups in this county which are developing cooperative projects. It is hoped that this exchange of information will lead to greater confidence and understanding on the part of each group.

Before the end of the first year of this news exchange the groups began to see need for a county federation. Each little group had gained strength from knowing it was not alone. Further strength was sought from more effective planning on a county-wide basis. News of the cooperative movement in other states widened the local horizon. Occasionally dreams of possible developments were reported along with actual achievements. Perusal of a three-year file of the *Carroll County News Letter* gives one a sense of history in the making. It also furnishes evidence that the community planner, like the scientist, may dream a dream and then prove its truth and practicality by experimentation in the community laboratory.

In Louisa County, Virginia, the Citizens' Council, in cooperation with the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, has for a year and a half been experimenting with the *Bulletin*. Its purpose is to reach every family in the county with information which the various committees of the council feel is important. Each *Bulletin* deals with one idea, simply and arrestingly stated, printed in large print on paper of attractive color. The original plan provided a special color for each committee—green for forestry, orange for nutrition, yellow for soil conservation. The paper shortage has not made it possible to follow this plan. Perhaps the enforced variations had added to the interest.

The leaflets have been delivered by mail to every family in the county. They are not addressed to "Boxholder." Each one has the name of the head of the family. The greater attention given to personally addressed mail seems to justify the additional work involved. Getting a *complete* and correct mailing list, however, has presented some difficulty.

These pictures of the homely efforts of people to expand the circle of persons who cared enough to share in some phase of the program make clear the two-way nature of the problem. It is this emphasis on shared activity that leads us to stress "public relations" more than publicity. Getting adequate information to persons who should and can use it is an essential part of democratic adult education, but increasingly we want to move to situations in which the recipients see the total picture. Some persons use "publicity," to mean a "total" view, but this is not the way in which the term is generally used.

The problem of maintaining relationships with the community so that effective leadership can be provided is well illustrated by boards or committees which are set up for definite purposes. They grow out of the community, and their function is to serve the community but, often because of ignorance, indifference, or ineptitude, they lose the essential contact.

School boards have been growing in their recognition of this matter, and some of the suggestions which Daniel R. Davies and Fred W. Hosler present here for school boards are applicable to any community group.[4]

Keep in Touch with the Community

School-board members have a difficult dual role to play. They must both be interpreters of the public's aspirations concerning its schools and leaders in pointing out to the public what its aspirations should be. The difficulty lies in maintaining a proper balance between representation and leadership. Too much of the former may lead to political log-rolling and emergency response to crises with little regard for long-term policy. Too much of the latter is evidenced by the development of a dictator-complex in board members which separates them more and more from both the public and the school staff. The discussion which follows examines both aspects of the board member's job to assist him in maintaining a balance between the two.

Board Members Represent the Will of the People. In a representative democracy such as ours, the school-board member has the responsibility to act for the people. In theory, he expresses the will of the people; practically, however, the will of the people is not easy to discover.

In the first place, there is no single, popular "will." Rather than one public there are many publics, some of which make their wishes known through pressure groups. Any given person may at various times during the day or week belong to several publics. For instance, on Sunday, he may think with a Church group. On Monday, he may serve on a Parent-Teachers Association (P.T.A.) committee. On Wednesday, he may lunch with a service club and vote on club policy. On Friday night, he may meet with the boys for a little game. Each of these groups may take different positions on the same issue. The complexity of the

public is well known to those who have spent any time in politics or public office.

Second, the groups which shout the loudest do not necessarily represent the wishes of the majority. Unfortunately for the board member, those who are content with the way things are going in the schools will have little or nothing to say, while people with an axe to grind or a cause to champion will lift their voices on high. The board member must be able to estimate the representativeness of such "popular" outbursts. He must neither mistake the loud shouts of a militant minority for the will of the people nor frustrate a widespread popular desire by misinterpreting the signs. It is not easy to make an accurate estimate.

Third, each board member travels in a certain social circle which is usually far from representative of the community as a whole. Social research has demonstrated the truth of the old adage that "birds of a feather flock together." Business men have things in common with other business men. Professional people travel together according to professions. Laborers can understand the problems of other laborers. And within each group, there are further subdivisions. If the board members' opinions concerning the kind of schools the people want are formed chiefly from their natural social contacts, they certainly will not be representative.

Fourth, there is a difference in attitude toward the schools shown by those adults who have children in the schools and those who do not. Ordinarily, it is easy to enlist the interest and support of parents and to determine their wishes. They will attend school functions, visit schools, and be active in P.T.A. work. Their interests will be centered largely on their Tommy's welfare in the school. For them, the school system revolves about Tommy—quite naturally, of course. They are not likely to be critical of increases in the school tax rate or of extensions of the school's services.

The problem is quite different with the nonparent group and those parents whose children are either in private schools or beyond school age. They have no personal tie with the public schools. Their interest in public-school matters will generally be less intense and of a markedly different character. If their support is to be gained, the appeal must be keyed to what the schools are doing for children and the community in general, to the favorable influence of good schools on real-estate values, on local business and on community pride. (See Chapter 7 for additional material on this point.)

In an attempt to overcome the difficulties of determining the popular will as outlined, boards of education have invented many interesting techniques. Brief descriptions of some of them follow.

1. *A Lay Advisory Committee to the Board of Education.* A committee of fifteen to twenty-five members is organized by the board. Members are chosen for one-year terms to represent the various groups within the community. For example, there may be one representative each from the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious bodies, from each service club, from veterans' organiza-

tions and so on. In this way, a committee can be set up which will represent most of the important organized groups within a community. The purpose of the committee is purely advisory. Through it, the board of education may sound public opinion on important policy matters and gain a fairly accurate estimate of the relative amounts of opposition and support for board proposals. The board can also tell which groups are supporting and which are opposing the issue. In addition, through the lay advisory committee, townsfolk can keep the school board informed of their wishes in an organized way.

2. *Open Board Meeetings with the Public and Press Invited.* School boards which operate according to this policy say that it pays off, in the long run, in community confidence and good will. It is not so effective as the lay advisory committee in aiding the board to keep in touch with all groups. It does, however, permit requests and grievances to be expressed before they become major issues. Some boards encourage public attendance by holding an occasional board meeting on the stage of the high-school auditorium. It should be plainly and generally understood, however, that the board may at times have to go into secret, executive session, especially when certain personnel problems are being discussed.
3. *School Board-Community Forums.* Some boards of education periodically meet the public in a large hall, usually the high-school auditorium, to discuss school issues. Members of the board sit on the stage either with or without other representative citizens. They may make some preliminary statements of proposed school policy and problems to invite audience discussion or start right in with questions from the floor. This device has been particularly useful before budget time and when bond issues for new buildings are impending. In large communities, such board-community forums may have to be repeated in various sectors of the community.
4. *Public-opinion Polls.* Techniques have been developed, patterned after those of the well-known national organizations of Roper and Gallup, for taking polls of opinion in local school districts. A few of the procedures have been so refined that they are simple and inexpensive to administer, yet give highly reliable results. Several simple schemes are described by McCormick . . . By their use, a board of education need not guess the public sentiment on important issues. It can determine accurately whether it is dealing with genuine popular will or merely the outcries of vocal minorities.
5. *Public Contacts of the Individual Board Member.* The oldest and most common means for keeping informed, of course, is to belong to many community groups and to circulate actively within them. No real board member can be a recluse. He must be up and about, talking with people, listening to the trends of public opinion. The danger of relying on this practice alone has already been discussed: It is not likely that a representative cross-section of the community will be met.

6. *Community Education Association.* Some school boards have encouraged the formation of community education associations devoted to the support of good schools. Such organizations are communitywide and have become quite influential. They serve as excellent sounding boards for public opinion and can do wonders in developing common bonds of understanding between the schools and the community. If a constitution and a set of bylaws are carefully drawn up for the association, showing its relationship to the board of education and to the school system, and if the board takes pains to keep cordial relations with the association, powerful support for good schools will have been attained. In Great Neck, Long Island, the Great Neck Education Association is open for membership to all adults in the school district. Dues are one dollar per year. The Association, originally organized to bring pressure upon the board of education to improve the schools, is now looked upon by both the board and the community as an asset. It includes committees on the budget, new buildings, salaries, legislation, and many others. When the Association and the school board agree on policy and a course of action, acceptance by the community is practically assured. [See Chapter 13 for additional materials on community groups of this kind.]
7. *Parent-Teacher Association.* A strong parent-teacher association centered in each school can perform excellent service if given genuine and able support by the administration. The work of each school's P.T.A. can be coordinated with all the rest through a community P.T.A. council composed of the executive committees of the school associations.

One further important result of the board's maintaining regular liaison with the community should be mentioned. It tends to stimulate interest in school affairs and to generate high morale and strong school support. When such conditions exist, the board member's job is far more pleasant than otherwise. He can then expect to receive the respect and gratitude of the great majority of the people.

The point of the discussion thus far is that board members, as representatives of the public, should utilize means for keeping closely in touch with and for accurately evaluating public opinion. The results of such efforts include better decision making, increased interest of the public in school affairs, increased school support, high morale, and generally better educational opportunities for children.

Public relations begins whenever a worker in adult education has an idea in which others will have a stake. This leads to the initial questions: who are the persons who ought to be involved, when can they most effectively relate themselves to the new development, and how can this be done? Obviously there is

apt to be great waste if many persons are brought in at the early stages. On the other hand, there can be loss and inefficiency if there is delay in bringing in persons and if as a consequence they feel that essential decisions were made without them.

The effective process of bringing in the persons who should share in clarifying the idea, developing the program, and getting it into action may be likened to a series of concentric circles. You get an idea. You share it with three or four close friends. Because it seems to the group to have merit, each person begins to think more systematically as to just which other persons can help most in moving it forward. At each stage the group has as one of its functions the task of identifying additional persons who should be brought in and the problem of how this can best be done.

Once the purpose is clear the question of techniques can be raised. In the early stages, when the number of persons involved is small, almost everything is on a face-to-face basis and the techniques of interpersonal relations and of small-group operations are relevant. It is important at this stage that informal memorandums of agreement be in the record. Occasionally an official letter to inform top leaders of developments may be strategic. We must recognize that lines of information are set up not only for the free flow of ideas but also to ensure that status persons get the credit they feel they have the right to.

One clue to the various techniques which the adult educator can use in establishing and maintaining communication with the community is given by some items in Michigan State College's "Score Card for Community Adult Education Programs." This score card was developed to cover the various parts of a comprehensive adult-education program. Because our concern here is only with the section on "Publicity," we use only those items in this section. The part omitted carries the instructions for using both the check list and the evaluation scale which is included in each item.[5]

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25. Check the ways in which the adult education program is cooperatively planned and coordinated:

    ________*a.* By agencies other than adult education
    ________*b.* By groups cooperating in course offerings
    ________*c.* By teachers, illustrators, and/or advertisers
    ________*d.* By school business office
    ________*e.* By those assigning use of buildings

________Inferior	________Fair	________Good	________Excellent
1	2	3	4

26. Degree to which each adult is made to feel that he is wanted and his needs provided for while participating in the adult program.

______Inferior	______Fair	______Good	______Excellent
a. No special effort made	*a.* Someone on duty in office to answer questions and take care of needs	*a.* Teachers encouraged to be friendly and informal *b.* Adults assigned to best rooms available *c.* Office open and staffed for service	*a.* Effective hosting committee *b.* Courteous guides available as needed *c.* Leaders see that everyone gets acquainted in group *d.* Social hour for larger group *e.* Comfortable seats and well lighted room *f.* Informal arrangement of room

27. Check the publication forms of mass media used to inform citizens of the adult education activities available:

a. Newspaper and/or magazines

______1. News stories
______2. Series
______3. Feature stories
______4. Pictures
______5. Advertisements
______6. Woman's page
______7. Editorials

b. House Organs

______8. Factories
______9. Unions
______10. Business
______11. Church Bulletins
______12. News Letters
______13. Others

______Inferior	______Fair	______Good	______Excellent
2 or less	3 to 5	6 to 9	10 or more

28. Check the audio-visual forms of mass media used to inform citizens of the adult education activities available:

a. Radio and/or television

______1. Spot announcements
______2. News
______3. Special program
______4. Actual class or classes

b. Film and/or pictures

______5. Trailers at commercial theater

c. Displays

______9. Downtown windows
______10. Industrial bulletin boards
______11. Transportation advertising
______12. Outdoor advertising
______13. Notices on or with utility bills

_______6. Colored slides

_______7. Silent and/or sound films

_______8. Picture posters

_______14. Notices on milk delivery

_______15. Notices with newspaper boy

_______16. Notices with Boy or Girl Scouts

_______17. Others

_______Inferior	_______Fair	_______Good	_______Excellent
3 or less	4 to 6	7 to 10	11 or more

29. Check the forms of person-to-person contacts used to inform citizens of the adult education activities available:

a. Personal Call

_______ 1. Business and industrial leaders

_______ 2. Union and organizational leaders

_______ 3. Church leaders _______ 4. House to house

_______ 5. Telephone calls, organized and unorganized

b. Meetings

_______ 6. Speakers at regular meetings of established organizations

_______ 7. Infiltration of members into other meetings with announcement

_______ 8. Mass meeting _______ 9. Dinner meeting

_______10. Special committees

c. Teachers and school administration

_______11. Regular teachers and administration

_______12. Adult teachers and administration

_______13. Other adult agencies _______14. Others

d. _______15. Satisfied customers

_______Inferior	_______Fair	_______Good	_______Excellent
2 or less	3 to 5	6 to 9	10 or more

30. Check the forms of special and miscellaneous projects carried on to inform citizens of the adult education activities available.

a. Printed material

_______ 1. Class schedule brochure

_______ 2. Complete booklet of program _______ 3. Others

b. Letters

_______ 4. To parents _______ 5. To business and industrial leaders

_______ 6. To unions and organizations leaders

_______ 7. To church leaders _______ 8. To others

c. Special projects

_______ 9. Exhibit night _______10. Program planning institute

_______11. Adult education council _______12. Adult education week

________13. Meet-the-teacher night
________14. Downtown booths
________15. Sign across downtown street
________16. Floats

d. Miscellaneous

________17. Use of advertising council
________18. Use of private advertising agency
________19. Use of business and industrial organizations
________20. Joint and co-sponsorship of projects and classes

________Inferior	________Fair	________Good	________Excellent
2 or less	3 to 5	6 to 9	10 or more

31. Degree to which the adult education program is interpreted to superintendent of schools, board of education, adult education council, community at large and key persons.

________*a.* Annual report
________*b.* Monthly resumes
________*c.* Adult education newspaper
________*d.* Participation in staff meetings of other areas
________*e.* Development of movies and pictures and displays
________*f.* Using important people in public programs such as graduation, open house, and public lectures.

________Inferior	________Fair	________Good	________Excellent
1	2	3	4 or more

In the selection of techniques, the criteria listed in the American Association of School Administrators' yearbook on public relations, to which we have referred earlier, are helpful:[6]

HOW TO CHOOSE THE "RIGHT" TOOLS

In selecting any public relations medium the basic rule is this: *It should be the best one available for the specific purpose to be achieved.* To apply this rule, however, certain implied questions must be carefully considered: (*a*) What community group is to be contacted? Why? (*b*) What results are expected? and (*c*) How are these results related to previous and future public relations efforts in the groups to be contacted now? in the groups already reached? Supplementing these questions, the following criteria also seem valid:

FACILITY OF PREPARATION. The medium selected should be one which can be planned and developed with the minimum amount of time and with few

materials. The time element is all-important in writing most news stories, as well as in preparing other materials.

IMMEDIACY OF PREPARATION. In planning the release schedule, time should be allowed for printing or other finishing operations. Production time should be brief.

DISSEMINATION TO CHANNELS. It is advisable to use materials which can be routed immediately after their completion to the agencies which distribute them: press, radio, homeroom teachers, or post office.

DISTRIBUTION. The medium selected should reach the maximum number of people in the shortest time and in the most effective manner.

COST. All materials must be developed at the lowest possible cost. Experience and care in planning will make this possible.

UNDERSTANDABILITY. The message should be intelligible to every person in the community.

POPULAR INTEREST AND APPEAL. The message which is pertinent, meaningful, and personalized will gain ready and instant support.

ADAPTABILITY. Wherever possible, the materials used for one medium should be adaptable to others. Efficient planning will make good materials available for many purposes.

COMPREHENSIVENESS. The medium used should be one with which it is possible to cover the subject thoroly.

EFFECTIVENESS. Favorable response is the primary concern of public relations. The degree to which the medium achieves this objective is the measure of its success.

Some readers undoubtedly will have wished that more examples of techniques could have been given. To have attempted this would have carried us far beyond the limits of our volume. We have therefore emphasized the basic principles, in the belief that if the adult educator has these firmly fixed, he will find ways to achieve the technical aspects. In many cases this will involve using the specialized help which is available in his community. In many localities there will be persons with special competences in newspaper publicity, in graphic presentation, in helping plan the broad program of communications, or in other areas. Often these persons will be glad to make this service available to the adult program.

The adult educator will also find help in his state agencies and in colleges and universities in his area. Knowles, in *Informal Adult Education*,[7] offers a large number of concrete suggestions. *Adult Leadership*[8] will have aids from time to time. Although industry operates on larger budgets for public relations than do adult-education programs, one can often get ideas which can be applied with less elaborate layouts.

We close this chapter with a re-emphasis of the idea with which we opened it: people talking *with* people. We do not think that the major job of adult leadership is to "sell" education in the sense in which that word is generally used. We believe that the task of informing people is very important, but this will involve primarily informing them about possibilities and about how to achieve them. We are certain that there are a great many behaviors that require changing, and we believe that, when people see the alternatives, they will choose wisely. We know no other method that squares with the conception of democracy. If one cannot trust people, in whom does he trust?

LEADERSHIP AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

17

THE *Educator's Washington Dispatch* for December 20, 1951, listed the ten most important tasks for education in 1952. Of these ten, one was "Begin training a core of workers for adult education so that the movement can take on new scope and power, emphasizing how adults may learn to make decisions in a democracy rather than merely acquire facts and skills." Even without taking on new scope and power, the leadership requirements of a movement already reaching upwards of 30 million adults are staggering.

The dimensions of the problem discussed in this chapter can perhaps be better appreciated if we contrast the situation of professional training for adult education with that of the elementary and secondary schools. In Patterson's *American Educational Directory* for 1952, 270 institutions are listed in the section "Schools for Teacher Education." The enrollment in elementary and secondary schools approximates 28½ million, and the output from all these training institutions is still insufficient to provide enough trained people to meet the needs at all levels and in all fields of instruction. Even though the participation of adults in educational programs is usually on a part-time basis, and much of the leadership required for the success of the movement can be obtained from lay volunteers, it is still a striking fact that only a comparative handful of institutions of higher learning in the United States are assuming any direct responsibility for the preparation of professional workers in adult education.

Cyril O. Houle, who for a period of years made a systematic effort to list the opportunities for training in universities and colleges in the country, identified, in different years from 17 to 44 such training programs. Many of these offerings certainly could not be dignified as complete training curriculums. Some institutions limit their programs to special summer-session activities, including workshops and institutes of short duration. It is probably no exaggeration to estimate that at present not more than ten to twelve universities and colleges offer a training program leading to a master's or doctor's degree with a major in adult education.

The reasons generally given for this situation have especial relevance for the material in this chapter. Departments of education explain their failure to provide a special-training curriculum on the grounds that placement opportunities in the field are still extremely limited, at least on a full-time basis. Administrators of adult-education programs under both public and private auspices complain that because our educational institutions are not preparing men and women with special competence and training in adult education, they are forced to fill important professional jobs with people who lack understanding of the historical background, present scope, and unique problems of the adult-education movement. Until this vicious circle is broken, major progress is not likely to be made toward the recruitment and training of young men and women for life careers in this newest and most rapidly growing area of education. Moreover, until more professionally trained people are available, our resources for planning and staffing the variety of training activities required for lay leadership in the movement will continue to be woefully inadequate.

Some definition of terms may prove helpful at this point. Katharine Lackey, in a study of leadership training programs sponsored by state university extension divisions, defines leadership training as "specific training which deepens insight and understanding in human relations and develops skills and techniques which helps groups in any situation arrive at a satisfactory solution of their problems.[1]

This delineation of the term will seem too limited to many practitioners in the field of adult education. Certainly the Great Books Foundation, the Committee for Economic Development, the Foreign Policy Association, and other such agencies of adult education would wish to include additional items in the program of leadership training which each sponsors. Similarly, recreation workers, leaders of film forums, librarians, agricultural-extension workers, and others would each require additional specific skills appropriate to the field of activity in which they are engaged. It is probably correct to say that no methodological problem in the field of adult education has so direct and vital an interest to all of the agencies active in the field as does this matter of leadership training.

Despite the specialized interest which each agency has, Lackey's definition does have the advantage of focusing attention upon the common core of concern applicable to each area and institution. Since in a book of this type it is obviously impossible to treat the specific leadership-training interests of every group in any detail, the human-relations aspect of this problem and the development of

group leadership and membership skills will be taken as the central focus of the discussion.

One further assumption must be stated: in this chapter we are talking about leadership and not leaders. Basic to this distinction is a philosophical commitment, supported by a growing body of research data, that leadership in a democratic society and in a democratic group is most accurately identified as a function of the total group, a responsibility to be shared among many rather than as a combination of personality attributes which enable the "leader" to manipulate the members of a group or organization, however benevolently, toward the acceptance of his personal goals and objectives.

The following selection, by Kenneth D. Benne, indicates some of the advantages of this kind of definition.[2]

What are the advantages of interpreting leadership in terms of functions to be performed in a group in helping it to grow and to operate productively? It helps to make clear that "leadership" is something that has to be learned. Moreover, it helps us to locate intelligently the understandings, attitudes, and skills which democratic leadership must acquire. It saves us from thinking of "leadership" as inherent in certain persons or classes of persons.

In a mature group, leadership does not inhere in any one person, even though many leadership functions may be delegated by the group to one member. More typically, the mature group will fit different leadership functions to different members so that leadership is exercised by a team, discussion leader, resource persons, recorder and process observer, for example, rather than by one individual. And the group may choose to reserve certain leadership functions for the group as a whole, rather than to assign them to any person or persons.

This conception of leadership also makes it clear that leadership training and development can not be separated from group training and development. As teachers work to build mature groups, self-objective about their group needs and ways of working, they are also working to build democratic leaders. Leadership always involves leader-member relations and a relationship can be well built only through the cooperation of both "leaders" and "members."

That this is not just a theoretical distinction without important applications to the work of the practitioner in the field is made clear by Jean and Jess Ogden, of the University of Virginia.[3]

"Helping communities to help themselves" implies a different philosophy from "helping communities." It implies a different understanding of the role of leader. It implies a different procedure. In both philosophy and procedure a *faith in*

people is basic—the same faith in people which is fundamental to a belief that democracy is the best way of life. The procedure depends on *leadership*—more or less widespread—rather than on *a leader*.

"Do you not possibly underestimate the role of the leader in these programs?" is another question from a reader. The question is not unrelated to the one with which this article begins. We do not underestimate the role of the leader, but we may differ from the questioner in interpreting that role. To one person, perhaps, must go the credit for having the necessary vision—for inspiring, for motivating. But his success can be measured by the degree to which he has developed leadership and thus worked himself out of a job. The *leadership* (and very frequently the leader) is found among "ordinary people like me."

° ° °

In most good programs, it is easy to point to the person, agency, or institution from which the original inspiration has come. The more closely, however, a program approaches the democratic ideal, the more difficult it becomes to put one's finger on *the leader*. Each person concerned assumes increasing responsibility. The readiness with which the original leader relinquishes his place in the picture is one important test of his mastery of the process of developing real leadership.

These observations obviously apply not only to the adult educator working with community groups but also to the teacher of adults in the more formalized classroom program. Even in the classroom setting, the teacher of adults is more than a teacher in the school sense of the term. Rather, he is leader, resource person, counsellor, and friend, as the situation may require, working with co-equals, sharing his specialized knowledge and experience to the advantage and in the interest of the group, from which he also learns.

As has already been implied, we are dealing in this chapter with a problem which has two major facets. The levels and kinds of training required for professional leaders in adult education will differ in both type and amount from those required for lay leaders. Although the two facets are different sides of the same coin, it is important to differentiate the tasks, as is done by Leland P. Bradford in the following selection:[4]

The many problems facing adult education are further complicated by lack of leadership. Because of increasing demands there is a dearth of trained and experienced leadership in adult education. To date adult-educators have had to develop thru experience with a minimum of opportunity for training. At the same time it is obvious that much of the interest in adult education on the part of people

in communities thruout the country is being blocked by lack of dynamic leadership in adult education.

One of the greatest problems facing adult education is the need for training both lay and professional community leaders. Increasingly, community groups are realizing that their potential for success is not being reached because of lack of knowledge of group leadership and participancy. The obvious place for such groups to turn is to adult education. Thus, there is a double problem in leadership training. First, the problem of educating ourselves to enlarged concepts of adult education and to improved technics in training others. Second, the need to train others in group leadership and participancy.

The complexity of the problem is considerable. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, writing in 1941, recognized this when they said:[5]

It is impossible at this stage to predict the patterns of expertness that will eventually mark the adult field. But some things have become clear by now. The adult educator cannot be simply a person of good will and generous impulses—and large ignorance. He must know something well. Neither can he be simply a person who knows something well but who is profoundly ignorant about the mental and emotional make-up of the adult human being and of the society in which he resides. Nor can he be simply a schoolman in the traditional sense of that word, a person trained in pedagogy and in not much else. To train anyone, including oneself, to become a genuine adult educator is a large order. For the adult education expert must be in a sense two or three experts rolled into one. He must have specific and accurate knowledge about something. He must know people and human society. And he must know the special hopes and problems of his educative profession. It is an altogether happy sign of the health of adult education that virtually everywhere now leaders are grappling with this problem of expertness, trying to figure out how to make the most of both lay leaders and trained educators by turning them into adult educators.

Before there can be a training program for either professional or lay workers in adult education, Cyril Houle states, three elements must be present:[6]

. . . There must be a body of skills, information, attitudes, and understandings to be transmitted, there must be a group of people who have a real need to acquire it, and there must be a medium thru which it can be transmitted.

The growing literature of adult education, partial evidence of which is contained in this book, would seem to indicate that no further documentation on the first of these points is required. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with (*a*) identification of training needs which do exist and for the satisfaction of which there are varying amounts of demand and (*b*) an analysis of at least some of the agencies and instrumentalities through which these needs can be met.

Identification of Training Needs

The following classification of training needs is only suggestive, but it does indicate three major categories: (1) in-service training of practitioners, (2) in-service self-training activities for research workers and trainers, and (3) pre-service training programs.

Numerically the largest group with training needs are those who are now practitioners in the field. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet have pointed out that most of the leaders in the adult-education movement with whom they had come in contact had apparently entered the field largely by "accident." Most had had no kind of formal training in adult education and owed their success to what they had learned from experience and experimentation.[7] These observations would seem to be true even today, whether one is talking about persons with administrative and supervisory responsibility, teachers of adults, or lay leaders.

One might well argue that since many individuals in each of these groups have become "successful" without benefit of specialized training, the case for a reversal of past practice is thereby weakened. On the other hand, those who have come into the movement "through the back door," so to speak, should be, and in most cases are, the first to grant that, as the field of adult education has grown and become more and more complex, reliance can no longer be placed upon the haphazard method of recruitment and induction characteristic of earlier days. Moreover, the zeal with which present practitioners in each of the groups identified above take advantage of in-service opportunities for assuring their own professional growth is some indication of the extent to which the movement is becoming more and more professional.

The case of teachers in the public-school adult programs of the country presents a special problem. Homer Kempfer's survey of 100 evening schools revealed that 51.2 percent of the 3481 teachers in 97 schools were day-school teachers.[8] Although in theory a good teacher of elementary- or secondary-school students should have the skills and abilities required for the successful teaching of adults, the weight of opinion seems to be that the theory does not work out in practice. The following statement, by F. M. Yockey, makes this point:[9]

Teaching adults requires a different method and technique than teaching youngsters. The problem can, in general, be classified under two headings. The

person who has not been professionally trained as a teacher will never treat his group like "kids," but he will need to learn to outline his course and break it down into teaching units. He has to learn that the student does not know as much about the subject as he does, and things that seem simple to him are not simple to the student. He has to learn patience and to treat seriously questions that may appear to him to be stupid.

The person who has been trained to teach youth must be retrained to work with adults. He knows how to outline his course and break it up into teaching units. Not having compulsory attendance of students to maintain his class, he must be even more alert than any other teacher to impart information clearly, to respect individual difference of opinion, and to make each student feel that an evening spent in study after a hard day's work has been worthwhile. The problem of discipline, which takes time and attention of teachers of youth, does not exist

As Yockey points out, both groups—that is, the professionally trained members of the day-school staffs and the lay experts from the community—require in-service training, albeit in different areas.

The training needs of volunteer lay leaders in the community present a still different problem (see Chap. 9). In terms of our earlier definition of leadership training, these needs seem to be primarily in the areas of group leadership and membership skills, some understanding of the problems of both large- and small-group communication, and increased sensitivity to the human-relations factors which have been shown to have a potent effect upon the operation and functioning of groups.

Two selections which follow indicate the variety and extent of the need for training of lay leaders. The first is by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet:[10]

The vitality of our communities depends upon such people [lay leaders]. The work they do is legion. It may be an organization to discover the book needs of a community and to get a library movement started; or the organization of a group of parents to study the nature and habits of their children and of those who teach them. It may be a community drive for a hospital, or clinic, or free lunches in school, or playgrounds, or decent public dance halls. It may be the organization of art exhibits in the local library, or band concerts on Saturday nights, or museum talks and exhibits, or a community forum, or an amateur craft shop, or a continuation school for high school graduates, or a full-fledged school for adults. Individuals who initiate such movements see more broadly than their neighbors, and induce them to see likewise. They are the lay educators of their community.

. . . Most of them [lay leaders] get their training through the jobs they undertake. There are some forms of leadership, however, where systematic training is

given. Methods have been devised for the training of lay leaders of parent groups, of forums and discussion groups, of settlement clubs, of lay librarians in small communities, of lay leaders of rural groups in home economics, of volunteer social workers, of volunteer teachers of English to foreigners, of volunteer recreation workers. We shall discuss most of these forms of training in later chapters. Here, for the sake of the record, we wish to make clear the basic importance to adult education of the lay leaders. When the multitude of such leaders is considered, also when it is realized that such leaders are not merely transmitters of what professional leaders wish them to convey but are themselves in large measure creators of ideas and institutions in their communities, it becomes clear that without them professional adult educators would be a lonely and futile lot.

And from Wilbur Hallenbeck:[11]

The increasing use of lay leaders is inherent in the very character of adult education; a cooperative learning experience related in one way or another to group action. The most successful adult education enterprise in the United States, both quantitatively and qualitatively—the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Homemaking—depends almost entirely on lay leadership in its group activities; its success would not have been possible otherwise. Money will never be available to do the necessary job of adult education by professional leadership. All adult educators, consequently, will be responsible, sooner or later in some way, for training lay leaders.

The training of lay leaders is not essentially different from the training of professionals. It will, however, be more limited in scope and more specifically related to the job in hand. It will necessarily involve less time and so be more selective in content.

A second major category of training needs comprises those professionals in the field of adult education who classify as university teachers of adult-education courses, research workers in adult education and allied fields, and training officers of national agencies of adult education, such as the Agricultural Extension Service, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women. Among these groups, those who have training responsibilities may be thought of as "trainers of trainers" and as such have responsibility for thinking through the major directions which both professional and lay programs of training must take. The National Training Laboratory in Group Development has concentrated on the training of trainers, but in general such intercommunication as has

occurred among "trainers" has been intermittent and unplanned. As a result, there is no uniformity in training designs, and—what is even more important—no clear statement of philosophical purposes on which differences of approach are based. Although the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. has set up two service committees, one on in-service training and one on research, there are as yet no facilities in the organization for meeting the kind of needs just described. It may well be that the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education will make progress on this front through the work of its Development Committee, which is charged with responsibility for studying training needs in adult education and making recommendations as to how these can best be met.

The third category of training needs covers the whole field of preservice preparation for administrators and supervisors of adult-education programs, teachers of adults, trainers of trainers, and research workers. Volunteer lay leaders are not included in this listing, because few if any adult educators in this group are likely to major either in undergraduate or graduate programs of training for what are likely to be peripheral and part-time activities.

In this connection, Cyril O. Houle points out:[12]

> Teachers colleges and university departments of education have not, as yet, assumed the major responsibility for the professional training of teachers and administrators of adult-educational activities. A great deal of this training is done elsewhere in academic circles—in schools of business, library service, agriculture, and home economics. An even larger amount is sponsored and directed, on an in-service basis, by operating agencies. In the broad array of programs designed to train persons for general or special competence in adult education, the small efforts of professors of education tend to be almost lost to sight.
>
> These formal courses in adult education, however, have an importance which is out of proportion to their small number and to the size of their enrollment. They bridge the whole field of adult education; indeed, they are a major unifying force within it. They provide the content which is used in many of the other training efforts. They train the leaders and potential leaders. By their very existence, they indicate a need and therefore serve to stimulate other agencies to provide training.

That there should be an expansion of preservice training opportunities in the field of adult education seems hardly open to question. What kinds of preservice training, what agencies should do the training, and the attendant problems of recruitment and placement are all questions over which considerable differences of opinion exist. Some of these differences will appear as we identify and discuss

some of the possible instrumentalities for meeting these and the other training needs identified in the preceding discussion.

Instrumentalities for Meeting Training Needs

In the following discussion, eight possible instrumentalities are identified. This list is not proposed as inclusive, but it does suggest the major resources now available. Any agency in adult education might conceivably use all or any combination of these instrumentalities. By the same token, any specific instrumentality might well serve either at the same time or at different times in the training of leaders from a wide variety of adult-education institutions and agencies. To be specific, the Agricultural Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture has perhaps the best-developed program of preservice and in-service training now in operation in the field of adult education.[13] The program, designed to meet the needs of both professional and lay participants, has used every one of the instrumentalities identified in this section. A leadership-training workshop offered by university extension division in a state university likewise is frequently designed to appeal to a heterogeneous group made up of both professional and lay leaders from public-school adult programs, recreation, public health, workers education, social welfare and others.

University and College Curriculums. Traditionally, the field of education has placed major reliance upon universities and colleges for the preparation of those who intend to devote their careers to professional work. In adult education, however, allocation of training responsibilities has not been so generally agreed upon, either by the institutions themselves or by practitioners in the field. Two basic approaches are possible. First, institutions of higher learning, and particularly schools of education, may argue that since the requirements for teaching and administrative success in this field do require the broadest possible training in the humanities and the social sciences, the best kind of preparation will occur when work of especial usefulness to adult educators is closely integrated into the regular curriculum of the liberal arts and later into the regular offerings of the school of education. C. O. Houle, in one article of a series on "Opportunities for the Professional Study of Adult Education," describes how this process of integration might take place.[14]

The second approach which universities and colleges can make—and these approaches, it should be noted, are not mutually exclusive—is to set up special training courses in adult education. Concrete evidence that a limited number of institutions of higher learning are providing such opportunities is contained in the series of reports on "Opportunities for the Professional Study of Adult Education" published in the April issues of the *Adult Education Bulletin* from 1941 to 1950 and in *Adult Education* in 1951. These reports show a range in the number of institutions offering summer programs from 44 in 1941 to 17 in 1945, with 36 institutions listed in the compilation published in April 1951.

These programs, particularly the summer offerings, serve both preservice and in-service training needs, with the great majority of students falling into the latter category. The policy of such agencies as the Agricultural Extension Service of giving periodic leaves of absence to its professional staff members for purposes of professional growth has had the effect of increasing the numbers of those taking advantage of campus offerings. Even in the regular academic year, the evidence seems to indicate, a majority of the students enrolled in the adult-education courses are persons taking time out from their professional duties to catch up on professional developments or to continue work toward advanced degrees.

Not all of the preservice or in-service training of adult educators is provided by schools of education. In the Agricultural Extension Service, for example, training of professional staff personnel is provided for the most part in land-grant colleges.

The training of vocational teachers presents a somewhat special problem as is brought out in another article by Houle.[15]

The pre-service training of vocational teachers is largely made up of campus courses organized around the problems of a vocational teacher and including some work in the theory and practice of adult education. However, each of the four kinds of vocational education has its own distinctive pre-service training programs.

Forty-two of the institutions which train teachers of vocational agriculture offer courses dealing with adult education in agriculture. Twelve of these institutions offer their courses on the graduate or in-service level. Usually the courses deal with the organization of teaching content, the making of farm surveys, the recruiting of class members, and teaching methods for adult groups.

In addition, most of the institutions which train vocational agriculture teachers provide some sort of practice teaching with adult groups. Thirty-two colleges and universities have well-developed programs in which students teach both out-of-school young farmers in part-time classes and adult farmers in evening classes. These student teachers do all the things which regular teachers would do: make farm surveys, recruit and organize the classes, assume the teaching responsibility, and follow up their classes with visits to the farms of individual farmers under the supervision of experienced critic and supervising teachers. Twenty other institutions provide a more limited participation and observation in from one to three sessions of an adult class. Thirteen institutions provide only for observation of adult teaching.

Twenty-three colleges and universities give special courses in adult education in homemaking. These courses usually deal with a survey of recent developments in adult education, particularly in the field of home economics, a study of the problems of family living, the promotion and organization of classes, teaching

technics applicable to adult students, and the organization of teaching materials. Fifty-one institutions provide some practice teaching in adult home economics varying from observation to actual participation in the conduct of the class.

The number of teacher-training institutions which provide special courses in adult education for trade and industrial teachers is unavailable. Teacher training in this field is carried on to a large extent as in-service work by itinerant teacher trainers who often work with the teachers in actual shop conditions. Correspondingly, there is relatively little organized practice teaching, altho in many local situations new instructors are given a considerable amount of initial supervision in order to make sure that they get started in the right methods.

Twenty-three teacher-training institutions now offer courses in adult education for distributive occupations. These courses are almost always offered during the summer session. They deal with the organization, supervision, and coordination of classes; the development of instructional materials; and the methods of teaching part-time and evening extension classes for workers employed in distributive occupations. Three institutions are now offering regular and systematic practice teaching in distributive occupations with adult classes.

In every institution which trains vocational teachers there are courses on methods or administration which include at least one unit devoted to adult education. These units often cover much the same material found in the courses on adult education, except that the presentation is briefer.

With reference to the content of the general training courses in adult education, C. O. Houle, in 1947, attempted to obtain from all instructors listed as offering adult-education classes in 1946 some indication of the content emphases then being given.[16] Replies were received covering 29 courses, 20 of which fell into the general-survey classification.

The major emphases of the twenty survey courses fell into four major categories:

"First, to provide an understanding of the basic nature of adult education or of the adult-educational process. Among the topics or objectives which fall under this heading are: 'historical background,' 'philosophy of adult education and its relation to the democratic ideal,' 'psychological foundations of adult education,' 'the ability to organize and manage a class in adult education,' and 'emphasizing the oneness of the educational process.'

"Second, to indicate the influence of social factors and trends in creating adult needs. Some instructors listed the following: 'discussion of current social and governmental issues,' 'community approach to adult education,' 'reconversion and

its problems,' 'the soçiology of the community,' and 'the necessity for careful, thoro survey and analysis to determine a need.'

"Third, to enumerate and describe the agencies and their areas of service in adult education. Several of the instructors organized their courses around the work of such agencies as the public schools, libraries, university extension, and voluntary associations. Others outlined their work in terms of such areas of service as consumer education, health education, avocational education or parent education.

"Fourth, to indicate how adult-educators can solve certain specific problems which they encounter. These problems are of many different sorts. Among them are: 'determining objectives,' 'locating and contacting individuals to be served,' 'providing individual follow-up and placement,' 'cooperation with other agencies of the schools,' 'technics in adult education,' and 'financial support.'"

Wilbur Hallenbeck, in the article in the *Handbook of Adult Education*, already referred to, gives this view of content requirements:[17]

The content of training for adult educators grows out of the philosophy of training; and the concept of the body of knowledge. There follows a general descriptive outline of the major areas of studies for those in training under the philosophy which has been stated.

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History of adult education, not as such, but rather to discover the place it has held in various times and in various cultures, the objectives and purposes under which it has operated, the forms it has taken, and its accomplishments; the precipitate of history in the adult education of the present day; the factors which have made adult education effective in the past and their relevance today.

Philosophy of adult education: the character or purposes and objectives and how they are determined, both ultimate and immediate; the ideas with which to work; principles derived from experience; the necessity for and the process of developing a "working philosophy."

Functions of adult education deduced from an analysis of the social scene, involving a knowledge of the chief characteristics of American culture and an understanding of the place of adult education in that culture, the conditions imposed on adult education by democracy, the relation of the cultural function to community functions.

Administration of adult education including the organizational structure of American adult education, the roles of various institutions, practical problems of organizing and operating a program, the community approach, problem of integration.

Emotional requisites for adult educators; belief in people and a better world, sense of mission, genuine interest in adults, broad interests, and experience in rich living.

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COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. This area of study would include a basic knowledge of sociology and the techniques of community study; an acquaintance with sources of data about communities; the theory and facts about community organization and community planning; a practical understanding of the relation of adult education to community organization and community planning and of group life and cooperative activity.

PSYCHOLOGY OF ADULTS. Factual data about adult learning; deductions regarding the peculiarities of education of adults; implications for methods in adult education.

METHODS AND MATERIALS. How to meet the conditions of adult learning: individual attention and group experience; informality; attitude toward and character of methods. Methods found useful by experience: cooperative participation; discussion of various types; workshops; psychodrama, etc. Problems of materials: readability; printed matter; use of mimeograph, radio, films, discussion outlines, etc.

PROBLEMS OF EXPERIENCE. Some of the best material available for use in training adult educators grows out of the problems, which have been, or are being, encountered in experience. Provision should be made for the use of this material as a basis for criticism, analysis, and evaluation.

WORKSHOPS, INSTITUTES, CLINICS, AND TRAINING LABORATORIES. An increasingly popular type of training facility is being offered by the various agencies of adult education in the form of a workshop, institute, clinic, or training laboratory. Its popularity is in part due to its suitability for in-service training. Usually of relatively short duration (from one day to one month), this form of training has been used successfully for both professional and lay groups and frequently for a combination of both. In at least two instances, such training institutes have been made the locale for action-research projects designed to throw new light on the training process and its outcomes.[18]

Two examples out of many that might be used will illustrate how the workshop pattern has been adapted (1) to the training of adult-education administrators and (2) to the training of community leaders. The first of these selections is by Presco Anderson.[19]

The past five years have witnessed a tremendous growth in the number and size of public-school adult education programs in New York State. This has led to

increased emphasis on the needs for programs of high professional quality and for directors who are thoroughly trained in the methods, techniques and administrative practices in their field.

The State Education Department has, therefore, determined to supplement the training offered by other institutions with an in-service training program for directors of adult education. Through a regulation effective July, 1951, the Department has made a training qualification necessary for local directors.

During the past school year the Bureau of Adult Education initiated the training program by conducting two major activities: Leadership Workshops and the Annual New York State Conference on Adult Education.

Twenty-eight Leadership Workshops were held last year, two in each of 14 locations throughout the state. Each workshop consisted of 10 clock hours of activity conducted on two consecutive days. Of the 508 directors of adult education in the state, 460 participated in the workshops, along with more than a hundred other public school teaching and administrative personnel.

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Workshops generally opened with an informal round of questions brought up by directors. Questions represented problems currently facing these administrators in their individual programs. Resource people from the Bureau and directors themselves pooled their experiences through discussion as the problems were considered. This provided a direct face-to-face method by which directors could gain new approaches to the solution of actual problems presented by their programs.

In the first series of workshops, a session was devoted to the playing and discussion of a recording entitled "Why Adult Education?" The script for this record was written in the Bureau, and the platter was produced by professional actors. It portrays a taxpayers' meeting in which representatives of various taxpayers' groups question the use of public funds for the financing of programs of adult education. The recording ends with a summary of the questions that have been introduced and places these questions squarely in the laps of administrators at the workshop.

Three or four directors then presented briefly their views on these questions, having been assigned their questions along with copies of the script in advance. The record, with the prepared answers of directors, served as a springboard for group discussion on the purposes and functions of adult education.

Another session of workshops was designed to aid directors in developing methods of organizing and working with lay advisory committees. Adult education administration is moving increasingly toward this type of local cooperation. A variety of methods was used to portray the operation of lay advisory groups and the responsibilities of directors in relation to these groups.

In one case a panel of directors who had worked with lay advisory committees in their own communities discussed questions which the Bureau submitted to them in advance. The questions were designed to bring out experiences with such

problems as selecting members for an advisory committee and establishing a relationship between the advisory committee, the board of education, the superintendent of schools and the adult education director.

On one occasion the workshop group sat in on a session of a lay advisory group of the local adult education program, as it discussed problems related to their program. After the meeting the directors analyzed it among themselves in terms of its purposes, techniques and accomplishments.

The operation of lay advisory groups was on several occasions illustrated through role playing. A Bureau member assumed the role of the local director and approximately 12 workshop participants played advisory committee members. After the directors were identified in their roles, the group considered a problem that would typically confront such a committee.

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A portion of every workshop in the second series was devoted to creating a functional relationship between adult education directors and county directors of civil defense. Generally, directors attending each workshop came from communities in approximately three counties. The civil defense directors from these counties were invited to meet with the directors to discuss mutual efforts in the area of civil defense.

Meetings on civil defense utilized the film "You Can Beat the A-Bomb." After viewing the film, civil defense directors at a general meeting indicated training problems which could benefit by the assistance of adult education programs. The session concluded with civil defense and adult education directors from the same counties meeting together to work on mutual plans. In most instances these workshop sessions marked the first contact of civil defense and adult education directors.

The workshops also included a discussion of the elements involved in organizing comprehensive adult education programs. Accompanied by a narrated script, the Bureau-developed filmstrip on the comprehensive program, "The Good Look," was shown to introduce the general discussion.

In considering this topic at later sessions, two excellent films were used as discussion "starters." The one concerning the New York City adult education program is called "Adult Education"; the other, dealing with the Los Angeles program, "Self Realization." After viewing the films and filmstrip at workshops, a number of directors used these materials at meetings with their local advisory committees, teachers and boards of education.

Other workshop activities related to the administrative problems involved in organizing and conducting activities in English and Citizenship Education for the Foreign-born, with Bureau specialists and the directors sharing their experience. Lists of recent materials in this field were made available.

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Since all directors will be providing an annual in-service training program for their teachers starting next year, workshops made provisions for directors and

Bureau members to demonstrate a number of group methods which might be used in the development of training programs. Activities included rôle playing the first meeting of a class, and discussions of teaching methods appropriate to adult classes. The Navy film, "Methods of Teaching" and Bureau bulletins relating to in-service teacher training were utilized in these sessions.

At each workshop a sample library shelf of professional materials drawn from many sources was exhibited. Copies of the bibliography of all materials on display were distributed.

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Every possible effort was made to have these sessions meet the practical needs of directors. Their problems were solicited and methods and techniques used at workshops were accommodated to their needs so that the meetings actually became the directors' workshops.

Prior to workshop sessions, a four-page interest-finder was sent to all directors, so that they might indicate areas of interest and the workshop locations they planned to attend. These questionnaires were used as a basis for planning workshop activities.

Once in attendance at workshops, both the pre-arranged and extemporaneous participation of directors made the workshops in large measure their own. Also, during each series, directors selected topics and suggested methods for the following series.

To make workshop activities even more applicable to local situations, directors on several occasions shared in the program presentations by bringing in citizens, students and teachers to demonstrate local adult education projects.

These are some of the highlights of the past year's workshop series. Of course, every workshop included opportunities for the consideration of basic problems of administration, supervision and evaluation, including community involvement, surveys of need, promotion, selection of teachers and class recruitment.

The second year's workshops will have for their theme "Program Development and Enrichment." We plan to implement this theme by inviting resource people from a number of Bureaus in the State Education Department. These specialists have already met with staff members of the Bureau of Adult Education in an effort to integrate their contributions to workshop sessions.

Another innovation will be the setting up of a one-hour preliminary meeting on the opening morning of workshops to provide orientation for those directors who are attending these sessions for the first time.

Recently-made Bureau-supervised recordings in which national leaders in the adult education field participate will be used as discussion "starters." Also, a new Bureau-produced filmstrip dealing with the organization of in-service training programs for teachers will be shown.

A selection by Martin Andersen describes a California program.[20]

. . . While in the past extension offerings have been largely in the form of classes or lectures, extension divisions are now providing services which are characterized by flexibility and mobility. Along with this change in the type of service offered has come a recognition on the part of University Extension of its responsibility in helping to conserve the resources of the smaller communities scattered thruout the country. These communities, and the people living in and near them, are one of the greatest resources in this country. Too frequently the potential of these communities is not realized because the people do not know how to work together for common community goals. They lack the skills needed to utilize to the fullest the resources of community organization.

The challenge to University Extension is evident. If it is to aid in extending the boundaries of the university and aid in developing the small community, then it will need not only to utilize old patterns of service but also to develop new ones which can be adapted to meet widely differing local community interests and together on community projects.

A pattern of adult education which meets this pressing present-day need is the Institute program. This type of program provides intensive, short-time training which can be adapted to meet widely differing local community interests and needs.

At the University of California, University Extension is expanding its program in this field. It has recently completed a program in Taft, California, which, because of its success, may serve as a pattern for future development. It is recognized that other states have conducted similar service programs but the particular effort described here may have some unique significance because of the relationships involved, the subjectmatter content presented, and the direction given for future adult education developments.

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The city of Taft has a population of thirty-three hundred and is located in Kern County in the San Joaquin Valley. The city's schools are well-equipped and staffed and a well-organized evening school program, supported in part by the California program of state aid, serves the adults of the community. The community has a high organization density and its leaders report they "can attend several meetings every night of the week."

Following conferences between University Extension representatives and organization leaders in Taft, a one-day "Organization Leadership Training Institute" was held on November 13, 1948. The Institute was promoted by the local chapter of the American Association of University Women and presented thru the auspices of the Adult Evening School, in cooperation with the Department of Institutes, University Extension, at the University of California, Los Angeles. Approximately ninety community leaders were in attendance for the all-day pro-

gram. The only community groups not well represented were the service clubs and churches. About one-fifth of the delegates were men.

The program for the Institute was planned to provide training in those skills needed in making the programs of existing organizations more effective and in enabling people to understand better how to work with others in achieving common goals. Subjectmatter areas included parliamentary procedure, program planning, discussion methods, and the psychology of working with people.

The program consisted of an opening general session in which the purpose of the Institute and plans for the day were outlined. At this time it was pointed out that effective community organizations must have a threefold program: namely, member activities, member training programs, and service activities for the community. It was also suggested that in the democratic process of investigation, decision, and action, the tools for effective community organization need continuously to be improved. Hence, the emphasis at this Institute was placed on skills rather than content. This opening session served to orient the group to the purpose and procedure for the Institute.

Following the opening session, sectional meetings on Parliamentary Procedure and Discussion Methods were held from 10 A.M. to 12 noon. By meeting in smaller groups which were conducted informally, the usual "thawing out" period was reduced to a minimum, and by noon everyone had an "in-group" feeling. After a noon luncheon, one hour each was devoted to Program Planning and Group Psychology. In the session on Program Planning, the need for understanding and using community resources was stressed. Basic principles of good program planning were suggested as ways of implementing communitywide projects. The session on Group Psychology dealt with practical rules of behavior for organization leaders in their work with others. It served as a stimulating and dynamic climax to the preceding sessions.

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The staff for the Institute consisted of the director of the local Evening High School and four persons from the University of California, Los Angeles. Two of these were members of the Department of Speech and conducted the sessions on Parliamentary Procedure and Group Discussion. A third, the dean of the College of Applied Arts and a person well-trained in community organization and intergroup relations, conducted the session on Program Planning. The fourth, a professor of Political Science who had an extensive background in problems of interpersonal relations, conducted the session on Group Psychology. It was the unanimous opinion of the four university staff members that this type of off-campus contact is valuable and stimulating. The public relations values to the university are evident. To the individual university personnel involved, the Institute was a stimulating challenge. It served as a welcome respite from classroom routine, brought an awareness of community needs and interests, helped to bridge the gap which frequently exists between the academic theory of the classroom

and the practical conduct of community organization programs, broadened contacts, and provided an opportunity for real individual and community service.

A final and significant part of the program was a general evaluation session. Here unfinished matters and plans for the future were considered. All persons completed evaluation questionnaires which were later tabulated and summarized. An analysis of the questionnaire results revealed that 70 percent of those answering said the program was excellent, 27 percent good, and 3 percent satisfactory. Ninety-three percent said the program had increased their ability as leaders. The session on the psychology of leadership was considered to be the most stimulating and valuable. Discussion methods ranked next and parliamentary procedure and program planning ranked third. Ninety-five percent of the delegates felt the Institute should be an annual affair. Valuable suggestions were given for future leadership training programs.

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While the pattern set for this one-day leadership training Institute is not new, it is significant in that it is a pattern which enables University Extension to serve the people in outlying communities. It is a pattern which focuses attention on and improves those skills needed in utilizing more effectively the resources of the small community—an almost forgotten frontier in America.

The pattern reported here is significant in several respects. First, it brought university staff members to a small community away from the university area. Hence, the circle of influence of the university was broadened. Second, the program was a local project and not foisted upon the community; therefore, it had the interest and support of local leaders. Third, it involved the cooperation of local school authorities and the university, working to meet the needs of local people. Thus, local educational resources were supplemented and strengthened. Fourth, the program itself was well balanced, both in terms of content and form of presentation. It was intensive enough to make the people want more, and permissive enough to allow maximum delegate involvement. Finally, those in attendance were given an opportunity to evaluate the program presented and to participate in plans for the future.

It is believed that the value of the one-day Training Institute in the field of leadership skills warrants its extension as a pattern for university service to small communities.

In-Service Training Courses. This type of approach to in-service training needs is particularly suited to those states in which there are relatively large tax-supported programs of adult education with certification requirements which can best be met through university extension offerings. Both of the examples chosen are from such states. In California, the program which Watson Dickerman describes had by 1952 reached 81 communities and 3072 teachers of adults.[21]

The demand for a program of inservice training has been building up for a number of years among the persons who teach adults in the public schools of California. The majority of these persons have never had any training for teaching nor familiarity with the adult education movement in the United States. They are professional men, tradesmen, housewives, and specialists in various fields. They have become expert in some craft or field of knowledge either by making a living at it or by making a hobby of it, and have been asked by the local director of adult education to teach this activity or subject in the adult education program of the public schools.

Their characteristic reply to such a request has been that they don't know anything about teaching. The director's assurance that he would help them has persuaded many of them to have a crack at it. Some have become expert teachers by experience. Others have failed. The readiness with which they have responded to this new opportunity to get some systematic training in how to teach is evidence of a long-felt need.

A more immediate factor in the response to the inservice training program is a new credential requirement for teachers of adults. Heretofore if such teachers lacked the required training, they were able to get an emergency credential to teach adults. And when the emergency credential lapsed, they could simply get another. The new credential requirement specifies that emergency credentials will not be renewed or reissued to a person who teaches more than 120 hours during the school year unless he takes courses in adult education. The date when this new requirement becomes effective has not yet been announced but the handwriting is on the wall, and many teachers are hastening to get the required training.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that such a credential requirement is in itself enough to crowd the courses of the new training program. Many of the persons who teach adults in the public schools of California are teaching as the result of powerful personal persuasion by the local director. Or because they love it. Rarely are they doing it solely because of the $3.50 per hour compensation, which is the average pay in the state. Those who are teaching because of the personal influence of the director, or because they love the work, are likely to kick over the traces when they feel the goad of a required training program. *Unless* the training meets certain conditions. It must be offered at a convenient time and place, must be reasonable in cost, and must be well taught and immediately useful. For some, university credit is an additional incentive.

These, then, were the chief problems which the Bureau of Adult and Continuation Education in the State Department of Education faced in setting up its inservice training program for teachers of adults in the public schools.

And here is the way it solved them.

(*a*) *Cooperative planning.* In planning and setting up the program the State

Department sought and got the cooperation of University of California Extension and of the two professional organizations of public school adult educators in the state: the California Association of Adult Education Administrators (professional association of local directors of public school adult education) and the California Council for Adult Education (professional association of teachers of public school adult education). The role which each of these four partners played in the enterprise is indicated below.

(*b*) *Time.* This was the rock on which many earlier efforts to provide inservice training for teachers of adults had foundered. When can and will people study who work in the daytime and teach at night? The most likely answer seemed to be Friday nights and Saturday mornings since comparatively few classes meet then.

But there is a limit to the number of these precious free nights and days which teachers of adults will sacrifice to training, so the schedule was made as intensive as possible. Two successful patterns have been developed for these 30-hour courses. The 3-9-9-9 pattern has an initial organization meeting of 3 hours on a Friday night, followed by three long meetings on Friday and Saturday. The 3-7-3-7-3-7 pattern has six Friday night sessions of 3 hours each, three of which are followed by Saturday morning sessions of 4 hours each. The sessions are spaced out over a two- to four-month period.

(*c*) *Place.* The general considerations in locating these courses have been to spread them widely thruout the state and to serve smaller communities before large cities since the latter had previously had more inservice training opportunities available to them. At the same time it seemed desirable to locate the centers so that teachers would not have to travel too far to them and in the center of enough population or neighboring towns to give a good chance for the proposed minimum enrolment of 30 teachers.

To date the courses have been operated in 17 centers. These are geographically located in the state as follows: Far North 1, North 5, Central 2, South 7, Far South 2. Seven of these centers are suburbs, nine are small or medium-sized cities, and one is a large city.

The courses meet in the local high school or junior college.

(*d*) *Financing.* The normal tuition fee of a 30-hour University of California Extension class is $18. From previous experience and for reasons indicated earlier in this article, it was believed that few of the teachers for whom these courses were designed would pay this rate. Accordingly, two steps were taken to lower the tuition fee. First, University of California Extension, as a demonstration of its interest in cooperating with the State Department of Education and the two state professional organizations of public school adult educators in establishing a program of leadership training for teachers of adults, agreed to contract for the courses directly with the school districts concerned. It charges the district $240 for the first 30 teachers and $8 for each additional teacher. The district must pay

at least $240 for the course even if less than 30 teachers enrol. It has been possible to keep the cost of the course this low because the university and the State Department have been able to provide part of the instruction free. Charges are slightly higher when "imported" instructors are used.

Second, the school districts participating in the program were permitted to claim reimbursement from the state for the attendance of each teacher who enrolled in the course. This is simply an application to a teacher-training course of the normal basis of financing classes for adults in the public schools of California. As a result, the districts which contract with University Extension for these courses are able to offer them to their teachers for a fee which ranges from no fee at all to $6 per teacher (the maximum tuition fee per term permissible under state law), depending on the amount of reimbursement per student claimable in that district and the district's willingness to plow its reimbursement back into an inservice training program for its teachers of adults.

(*e*) *Staff.* The State Department and University Extension share about equally in providing instruction for these courses. Instructors from the State Department . . . from the staff of University Extension [and from other sources have been used]. . . . University Extension also asks the local director of adult education to handle the instruction which is concerned with facts about the local program: administration, supervision, guidance, publicity, record-keeping.

(*f*) *Instruction.* The State Department hopes to work out a series of from three to five 30-hour courses. It plans to offer these in rotation in as many centers as it finds demand and can supply staff.

The first course, Adult Education Methods, was operated in 7 centers in the spring of 1948. The same course is being operated in 9 additional centers in 1948-49. Meanwhile, a second course, Psychology of Adult Learning, is being operated in the 7 centers which had the first course in 1948, and in 1 additional center. Present plans call for adding a third course in 1949-50, probably on how to discover community needs for adult education. It is hoped that all three courses will be available in any given year. The courses need not be taken in any particular order.

The content of the Methods course has emphasized the following topics: functions of adult education; the local and state programs of adult education; research in adult learning and its implications for the teacher of adults; how to plan courses and lessons; methods, procedures, materials, and teaching aids useful in teaching adults; how to evaluate one's teaching; suggestions for professional growth; suggestions for carrying on from where this course ends.

The content of the learning course emphasizes the psychology of adult learning and human relations.

Both courses deal directly with the firing line problems of the teachers enrolled in them and both are conducted as discussion groups rather than as lecture courses.

(g) *Enrolments and promotion.* Enrolment in the 2 courses has ranged from 20 in the smallest course to 67 in the largest, with an average enrolment of 40. Most of the enrolees in any given course are teachers in the program of adult classes of the school district concerned, and neighboring districts. A few are teachers of youth in the local school system and a still smaller number are teachers of adults in other agencies: PTA's, churches, prisons, etc. The local directors of adult education usually give first chance to enrol to their staff of teachers of adults and then open the class to teachers of youth and teachers of adults in other agencies if there is room for them. The teachers of youth who enrol are usually curious about adult education, as well as being attracted by the fact that the courses carry two units of undergraduate credit at the University at an unusually low fee. A number of them have become sufficiently interested in adult education as a result of the courses to apply for work with adults. Their presence in the class also creates opportunities to discuss ways and means of promoting cooperation between the adult school and youth school faculties and administrations.

The size of the enrolments mentioned above is significant in view of the fact that the same classes offered on the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses of the University customarily have much smaller enrolments. The greater appeal of the intensive courses seems to lie in their convenience as to time, schedule, and location; in their lower cost; and in their emphasis on the firing line problems of a homogeneous group.

Another factor in the success of these courses is their promotion by the state professional organizations of adult education administrators and teachers. Both groups are solidly behind the new inservice training program.

Here is the story of the Michigan program as told by Lloyd M. Wolfe:[22]

The directors of Michigan's community adult-education programs believe one way to improve the service to the customer is to improve the instruction and leadership.

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Any plan to improve the instruction by such a staff must be so flexible and diversified that it will provide fundamentals for the beginner, yet improve the teaching of the trained and experienced.

Such a plan was conceived by a group of directors of community programs, professors from the state's colleges and university, and the chief of Michigan's experimental program, in a workshop held in Ann Arbor last June. Gradually the idea has emerged in a statewide plan for the inservice training of teachers and directors.

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(*a*) The key responsibility for the training program rests upon the community director.

(*b*) The university and colleges have the responsibility of assisting the director in gaining the content of training and in helping the director learn the best methods of training teachers on an inservice basis.

(*c*) The State Department of Education has the responsibility of initiating the program; providing leadership; coordinating the program; interpreting the plan to the Governor, the Legislature, the Michigan Council on Adult Education, to other state professional and lay leaders, and to the public.

(*d*) The program should be continuously planned jointly by the director, the university and colleges, and the State Department. To do this a committee of representatives of the three groups meets periodically. This differs from the usual teacher-training program in which each teacher-training institution develops and offers courses which are attended by actual and potential teachers and administrators. Frequently there is wide difference in the program offered by the various institutions and sometimes competition among them.

(*e*) Regional meetings of directors are held under the leadership of the nearby college or university to help the directors gain skill in their responsibilities.

(*f*) As frequently as possible university or college persons attend and assist in local staff-training meetings held by the director.

(*g*) At the local level staff-training meetings are planned jointly by the director and his staff in the same way that the directors' meetings are planned jointly by director and college representatives.

This in essence is the plan. It is based on the following principles. First, that the most efficient training results when there is joint planning by those being trained, and those doing the training. In this way those doing the training are more clearly aware of the exact problem for which training is needed. To a very great degree the directors are educating the college personnel in the problems faced in the communities, and the teachers and leaders are continually informing the directors of the exact problems found in adult classes and groups.

Second, that a more efficient training program will result if it is on a statewide basis. In this way each region reinforces the interest in other regions and contributes knowledge of new methods.

Third, that more beneficial results occur when each person has an opportunity to learn from others in the same position and facing the same or similar problems. Not only do teachers and leaders benefit thru staff-training meetings in which there is a sharing of problems and solutions, but also directors gain thru periodic meetings with other directors, both on a state and regional basis, and college and university persons gain from state meetings in which each compares with others ideas he has seen tried in communities he has visited.

INTERNSHIPS AND FIELD EXPERIENCE. Although there is general agreement in the literature on the professional training of adult educators that the internship method is an essential part of any well-rounded training program—at least for professionals—there are relatively few reported examples of how this type of training is provided. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet report a number of examples, including the Michigan plan of deputy leadership, under which younger members of the community are gradually inducted into positions of responsible leadership.[23] The training programs at Teachers College, Columbia University; the University of Chicago; and the University of California, among others, provide opportunities for observation and laboratory practice in the field. At California, several of the public-school, adult-education administrators have accepted responsibility for supervising the work of interns in training at U.C.L.A. Agricultural Extension follows the practice in the training of its county agents of providing a period of field work under the supervision of an experienced officer.

Although these developments are promising, this instrumentality for meeting training needs requires further experimentation and additional resources.

NATIONAL AND AREA CONFERENCES. One of the oldest instrumentalities for professional training in adult education is the conference. The conference has been used effectively both within specific fields, such as agricultural extension, libraries, Y.M.C.A. work, and also for purposes of cutting across agency lines. National, regional, state, county, and local conferences have all been used, and considerable experimental work has been done in the last five years toward the improvement of conference procedures. Katharine Lackey describes the use which the University of Michigan has made of area conferences as a training instrumentality.[24] The Adult Education Association has obtained foundation support for a series of area conferences to be operated according to the following purposes and criteria.[25]

The purposes of the conference will be:

(*a*) To strengthen area, state, and local organizations.

(*b*) To establish a network of communication among national, area, state, and local workers in adult education.

(*c*) To bring together professional workers and laymen from all the fields of adult education.

(*d*) To stimulate better programs and develop more capable practitioners in the states and communities.

(*e*) To discover the needs of people working in adult education.

(*f*) To learn, through systematic study of them, how better to conduct conferences of this type.

The following general criteria were adopted for the selection of conferences to be included in the project:

(a) They may serve several states, one state, or an area within a state.
(b) They are to be distributed geographically over the country.
(c) They are to be held both in organized and in unorganized areas.
(d) Preference is to be given to those situations showing greatest promise of results (1) in the states and communities included and (2) in what can be learned from the conference.
(e) There must be a continuing relationship between the project staff and consultants and those responsible for a conference before, during, and following the conference.
(f) There shall be a general design for the conferences, flexible enough to be adapted to individual conferences.

Staff and consultation service in conference planning and management, in training conference staff, and in research and evaluation will be provided for conferences included in the project.

Research Centers. Most of the colleges and universities offering professional training in adult education would probably claim some research activity as a by-product of this training. However, as has already been indicated, the number of institutions in which there are resources for supervising individual research at the master's and doctoral level is small. The number of institutions in which there might be said to be opportunities for team research on important problems in adult education is even smaller. The Bureau for Studies and Training in Community Adult Education at the University of Michigan maintains a close relationship with the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the same institution. This happy marriage of resources has already produced a number of important experimental projects. The Institute of Adult Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, through its field studies and other activities is also making important contributions to the research base needed if the field is to become truly professional. The AEA is also committed to a close relationship between research and training. The scanty evidence of accomplishments in the area of research means that training facilities for the development of competent research workers are woefully inadequate at the present time.

Staff Meetings. Lloyd Wolfe's description above of the way in which staff meetings are used in the Michigan program of training is relevant in connection with this relation between research and training. As Harry and Bonaro Overstreet point out,[26] there are serious obstacles to wider use of staff meetings for training purposes. In those states and communities in which adult education involves relatively large staffs of professional workers, there is always the problem of finding time to bring the staff together for long enough periods in which there can be truly fruitful exploration of common problems and difficulties. Most of the members of the teaching staffs in the larger adult schools are on a part-time

basis, paid usually at an hourly rate and frequently disinclined to allocate additional hours for staff training sessions.

On the other hand, although not much appears in the literature by way of descriptive example, the practice of using staff meetings for self-training is well established in university extension divisions, in libraries, in agricultural extension and among certain of the voluntary agencies such as the Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s. Here, again, training of the trainers is indicated in order that staff meetings can be productive and beneficial to the participants.

TRAINING MATERIALS. Not all training must necessarily occur in face-to-face situations. The U. S. Department of Agriculture has demonstrated over a period of years the value of carefully and strategically prepared training materials distributed to members of the staff. Literally thousands of pamphlets have been published and distributed dealing with the skills of discussion leadership, program planning, community development, etc. Some of these materials have been referred to in other sections of this book, and a number of examples have been included among the selections. In Chapter 13, for example, the effort of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. to provide training materials in the field of program planning, through its publication *Adult Leadership*, is reported.

The major point to be made in this connection would seem to be that training materials be thought of as supplemental to, not a substitute for, face-to-face training opportunities. When they are used to support firsthand learning experiences, no one would gainsay their value.

The field of leadership training for lay and professional workers in adult education presents many challenges and many unsolved problems. A great deal of training activity is to be found, but there is little approximating a scientific assessment of results. There is confusion and controversy over what should go into preservice and in-service training programs. There is an obvious need for scholarships and fellowships which can be used to underwrite additional training for promising practitioners who may otherwise be lost to the field.* Finally, there is a major need for experimentation with methods of identifying and recruiting community leaders who can and will become the trainers of others. If leadership resources adequate for our times are to be provided, we shall have to think in terms of geometrical proportions instead of in the "each one teach one" philosophy. As this chapter has indicated, there are some promising and encouraging efforts being made to achieve this result.

* The Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation is now making available a sizable sum of money for just this purpose. This should provide the much-needed stimulation in this field.

FINANCE

18

IT MAY BE ARGUED that, although finance is important to the success of adult-education programs, it is rarely if ever our basic problem. By this we mean that the resources of this country are adequate and ample to support the relatively light additional cost that would be involved to provide adequate services. A nation whose people have already demonstrated their capacity to spend large proportions of the national income on amusements, cosmetics, alcoholic beverages, and leisure-time activities of all kinds can hardly rationalize its failure to deal with the financial requirements for lifelong learning.

As Luther Evans points out in a selection quoted later in this chapter, the problem is not one of inadequate resources. It is rather that, in competition with other available goods and services, not enough adults feel the need for or want the educational advantages and opportunities which a good community program provides. From this point of view, the subject matter of all of the other chapters in this book is related to finance. Only as we develop functional programs which demonstrate their usefulness in aiding individuals and groups to solve more efficiently the whole range of complex human and social problems which now beset them can we expect the kind and amount of financial support which we now set as our goal.

A good example of the present level at which the general public perceives this problem of financial support is provided by the case of UNESCO. In 1951, out of an average per capita tax bill of $350, approximately two cents went to the support of the whole effort for international cooperation in the fields of education, science, and culture. With regard to the support of adult-education programs in this country, studies have shown that in New York State, for example—which ranks second in the amount of state support going to local school districts in support of adult-education activities—the expenditure for adult education in 1946-1947 was approximately six tenths of one percent of the total budget for education. Only four tenths of one percent of this was provided from local taxes.

These illustrations point up the already obvious fact that the people of the United States have not yet been convinced, at least in any large numbers, that participation in and support of adult education has much to do with individual or social improvement.

The general problem of finance breaks down into a number of subsidiary issues or questions: If we grant the need for more adequate financial support of adult education, who shall pay the bill? Should programs be financed out of the public treasury—either local, state, or federal—or from private contributions? Should a wide range of program opportunities be available to all adults free of charge or should they be financed in whole or in part through fees? Are the kinds of activities which go on in the name of adult education in this country of such a type that they can be adequately staffed by volunteer workers, at least to a large extent, or must there be a more rapid professionalization of the field, with more full-time people devoting their careers to its program at salaries comparable to those in other lines of professional activities? How can budgeting practices be improved so that, regardless of the source of the money, inefficiency and wastefulness can be avoided?

None of these and other issues can be resolved without clarification of program goals and objectives. As the situation now stands, these program goals, clear and unclear, differ from agency to agency as do the answers to the policy questions raised above. As a result, there is little uniformity of practice with respect to fiscal policy. There is considerable confusion, chaos, and opportunism, as might be expected in a relatively new and rapidly growing field. It would seem, therefore, that the most useful approach in this chapter is to identify some of the present practices and problems in four of the institutions in which major adult-education programs are now going forward.

Public Schools

There are at least three potential sources of tax support for public-school adult-education programs. Many districts depend entirely upon local tax monies. In about half the states, some form of state support for adult education is avail-

able. Only seven states, however—California, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin—provide more than $100,000 per year in state aid for this purpose. Only two of these, New York and California, exceed one million dollars of state support per year. The third source of tax money is from federal grants distributed to the states for the support of trade and industrial, agricultural, home economics, and distributive education.

The adult-education program of the Cleveland Public Schools, for example, is financed with approximately one percent of the total educational budget of the community. Most of this sum is regained, however, through income derived from three sources: fees charged enrollees; reimbursement from the State Board of Vocational Education; reimbursement from the Veterans Administration. The exact figures reported by the director of the program, Ralph E. Crow, in his annual report for September 1949, indicate total income from fees and reimbursement as $207,990 and field cost, exclusive of building operation, $218,176, or an operating cost of 23½ cents per student per clock hour of instruction.

Ohio happens to be one of the states in which no general program of state support for adult-education work exists, and this must be kept in mind in making comparisons. In a city located in another state which has the most liberal system of state support now in effect, expenditures for 1949-1950 totaled $241,674, excluding building maintenance and central administration, about the same total as Cleveland's. This represented about three percent of the total school budget. However, revenues from state apportionments during this same period for the adult education and extended day classes totaled $294,838.[1] It should be pointed out that comparisons can be misleading, since there are no uniform practices in operation for determining charges which should be allocated to building maintenance, plant operation, and so forth. A New York State survey for 1946-1947 does give some basis for generalizing as to major sources of revenue for public-school adult-education programs in that state.[2]

Schools had several sources of funds for adult education programs: school taxes, fees, and miscellaneous revenues from the adult education activities, federal aid and state aid. The percentage of the total income derived from these various sources in the 14 communities studied is shown in table 7.

Information was also collected from all schools reporting more than 1000 adult education periods per year regarding their practice in connection with registration fees. The majority of the schools reporting required a fee. Usually this was one dollar a semester or two dollars a year. One-third of the communities reported no registration fee of any kind.

While the figures from the 14 schools whose finances were studied intensively showed considerable variation in amount of money received from the various

sources, it seems reasonable to say that on the average, school districts eligible for reimbursement for adult education classes will supply about 40 to 50 per cent of the total cost of adult education from local taxes. . . .

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF ADULT-EDUCATION BUDGETS COMING FROM VARIOUS SOURCES OF REVENUE

Community	*Using previous year's reimbursement*		*Using current year's reimbursement*			
	Local tax	*State aid*	*Local tax*	*State aid*	*Federal aid*	*Fees and miscellaneous*
Schenectady	51.1	35.6	26.4	60.4	5.8	7.4
Niagara Falls	44.1	23.3	1.5	65.9	20.2	12.4
Binghamton	53.2	38.0	22.3	68.9	6.6	2.2
White Plains	55.0	33.3	32.4	55.8	9.5	2.2
Sewanhaka	21.9	43.8	1.1	64.7	11.1	23.2
Oceanside	84.6	15.3	34.9	65.0	0.0	0.1
Ithaca	32.9	58.3	0.0	83.2	10.3	6.5
Endicott	60.5	27.4	19.5	68.3	4.4	7.8
Norwich	69.1	28.2	38.9	58.4	0.0	2.7
Pleasantville	85.6	0.0	44.1	41.5	3.2	11.2
Hastings	50.8	26.4	21.0	55.6	0.6	22.8
Pearl River	37.0	38.7	10.9	64.8	0.0	24.3
Springville	97.5	0.0	97.5	0.0	2.5	0.0
Van Hornesville	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

One state with a limited program of state aid makes the following suggestion to local communities on the ways and means of meeting the costs of adult-education services.[3]

Many ways and means of meeting the costs are used by New Jersey communities depending upon local choice. Among them are the following:

A. *Annual local school budget appropriation* for all or a part of the costs. Many boards of education are willing to provide for the use of school buildings or school facilities. Some boards of education are providing financial support that will take care of the costs of leadership and leadership training. Other boards desire to defray the total costs of facilities, leadership, and instruction. Some boards underwrite the promotional costs of the program.

B. *Tuition fees paid by adults using the facilities.* Many New Jersey adult schools and services are in part, or even entirely, supported by such fees. Usually

an effort is made to maintain the fees at such a level as to prevent the elimination of persons because of excessive charges.

C. *Contributions by organizations.* In a few communities the program is subsidized in whole or in part by contributions from interested individuals or organizations. Occasionally this method is used in order to get a program started. The financing is carried on later by other means.

D. *State aid.* The present state aid is limited to naturalization and citizenship services for the foreign born. A program of state aid to communities for assistance in the maintenance of their services in adult education is being considered by the New Jersey Council on Adult Education and civic leaders throughout the State.

E. *Combination of methods.* Many communities use a combination of the above methods. In some the costs of maintaining facilities and leadership is paid from the local school budget, and tuition pays for the cost of instruction.

While the above methods are all commonly used, many persons feel that adult education services are such a vital part in the community's educational program that stability and quality of service are best obtained when the adult education program is a definite part of the annual school budget. Some people feel, however, that strength is given to the program when participants pay a small or nominal tuition fee.

Thomas Van Sant, Director of Adult Education for the Baltimore Public Schools, has for a number of years conducted a yearly study of rates of pay for part-time public-school adult-education teachers. In his report issued July 1, 1952, he includes the data from 106 replies. These data support the following statements:[4]

a. the range of the Flat Rate Cities is from $2.50 per hour to $5.00 per hour
b. the median rate for the Flat Rate Cities was $3.00 per hour
c. the *beginning range* for the Sliding Scale Cities was $1.50 per hour to $4.75 per hour
d. the *median beginning rate* for the Sliding Scale Cities was $2.50 per hour
e. the top range for the Sliding Scale Cities was $2.50 per hour to $7.50 per hour
f. the median top rate for Sliding Scale Cities was $3.25 per hour
g. variations in the rate of pay for cities using a sliding scale are related to a number of factors such as experience, training, special rates needed to acquire outstanding leaders, established procedures, general adult education, adult vocational education, etc.

On the next page is a recapitulation chart of all studies in this series including this Progress Report.

Review of Hourly Rates of Pay for Part-time Public-school Adult-education Teachers below Junior-college Level from 1945 through 1952

(The rates are as of January 1 of each year)

Year of study	Flat rate: Median	Flat rate: Range	Sliding scale: Median bottom	Sliding scale: Median top	Sliding scale: Range
1945	$2.03	$1.65-3.00	$1.73	$2.54	$1.00-5.00
1946	2.03	1.65-3.00	1.73	2.54	1.00-5.00
1947	2.50	1.50-4.00	2.00	2.87	1.00-5.00
1948	2.75	2.00-4.25	2.25	2.87	1.20-5.00
1949	3.00	2.12-5.00	2.50	3.00	1.50-6.00
1950	3.00	2.50-4.25	2.50	3.20	1.50-7.50
1951	3.00	2.25-4.25	2.50	3.32	1.50-7.50
1952	3.00	2.50-5.00	2.50	3.25	1.50-7.50

The following brief excerpt from a mimeographed bulletin issued by the Eureka, California, City Schools indicates the provisions of the current salary schedule for that school system.[5] It is of especial significance in illustrating how part-time teachers of adults are given regular contractual status.

Eureka City Schools
Adult Education Department
Salary Schedule 1952-53

This year the Board of Education has adopted the following salary schedule. Whenever possible teachers will be given regular contracts on a monthly basis subject to 30 day termination on notice, and in any case, ending May 29, 1953. Provisions of the new schedule are as follows:

1. Teachers with classes averaging *less* than 10 persons during the month, or classes maintained regardless of class attendance averages, will be paid on an hourly basis of $3.25 per hour for class periods and for attendance at adult education faculty meetings and institutes.

2. Teachers serving part-time but with classes averaging 10 or more persons per month will be eligible for contractual status on the basis of the following monthly salary schedule.

Two hour classes	*per month*
One session weekly	$ 32.50
Two sessions weekly	60.00
Three sessions weekly	90.00
Four sessions weekly	120.00

Three hour classes

One session weekly	$ 43.75
Two sessions weekly	87.50
Three sessions weekly	131.25
Four sessions weekly	175.00

Note: Deductions for retirement in addition to federal income tax start when teachers have more than two weekly sessions.

3. Full time adult education teachers will be given regular contracts and placed on the proper step of the regular salary schedule.

4. All teachers are eligible to receive the 10 days sick leave allowed per year and to receive the 3 days bereavement leave as defined in the regular schedule.

University Extension

The most recent study of fiscal practices in the field of university extension has been made by Arthur H. Dugan, as part of a doctoral thesis at the University of Wyoming.[6] The study is based on replies from 47 of the 71 members of the National University Extension Association.

Since the effectiveness of a program of classes for adults is largely dependent upon the financial structure embodied in the administrative organization, any examination of extension practices would be incomplete without a consideration of the more pertinent elements relative to appropriations, fee income, and management and utilization of money. Many of the strengths and weaknesses are to be found not only in the amounts of money budgeted or appropriated by the institution, but in the basic design for the management of income and the expenditures. Program flexibility is largely determined by the degree of financial flexibility which is antecedent to many basic policies.

Sources and Uses of Income

Although financial support was derived from both fees and appropriations, fees represented about three-fourths of all income. In some institutions income was wholly from fees and in some wholly from appropriations. The percentage of support from fees may be identified when such money is clearly indicated as fee income, but when all money is appropriated, conclusions cannot be drawn with reference to the relative amounts of support even though a great deal of money is actually collected. However, a reasonable assumption would be that such money was used directly or indirectly so that some measure of financial independence existed as a result of collections.

A much higher percentage of income was derived from appropriations in some

institutions than in others, but the conclusion that those schools were in better financial condition than others cannot be drawn, since some variable elements were noted. Density of population, distances of travel, size of classes, and other expenses are all variables which bear heavily upon student-unit costs. Extension classes might be entirely self-supporting in a large city because of a dense population and the large classes which might be organized, while in sparsely populated areas extreme costs per student due to travel and small centers of population might preclude a policy of complete self-support.

It was usually difficult to secure sufficient money from appropriations to support a broad program of classes which would include small groups of students in small communities as well as large groups in heavily populated communities. Since the cost of offering a given class was generally unrelated to income from fees, small groups were not organized, and limited service was given in sparsely populated regions. Institutional rules and regulations required constant charges, and small classes were more costly per student than larger classes. As might have been expected when appropriated money was insufficient, only the more productive enterprises were undertaken, resulting in limited offerings in many communities and for many people. It was generally agreed that a higher percentage of appropriated money would make possible the development of a more desirable program in terms of the breadth of services and the groups served.

Fee income was utilized primarily for the purpose of paying stipends for part-time instructors, and secondarily for paying some full-time salaries and for travel, supplies, contractual and equipment costs. In institutions appropriating most of the money necessary for the payment of full-time salaries, the deans of general extension believed the amounts were satisfactory; but the group receiving less from appropriations believed that the program was seriously curtailed and that larger amounts would enable them to do better educational planning. The consensus from institutions utilizing a high percentage of fee income for the payment of full-time salaries was that they should ordinarily be budgeted in legislative appropriations and that part-time salaries should be paid primarily from fee income in order to provide a higher degree of flexibility in the whole program.

Although appropriated money was utilized in all categories of the budget, most of the expenditures were for full- and part-time salaries, about 50 per cent being used for the salaries for full-time employees. Other items of the budget, such as travel, supplies, contractual and equipment were supported by appropriations, but in much smaller amounts. Criticisms were made of financial policies which culminated in inadequate support by appropriations, and the suggestion was made repeatedly that the support of the extension class program should be no more dependent upon fee income than should educational services on a campus. It was generally believed that fees should be utilized in the support of

adult classes, but that appropriations should comprise the remainder of whatever expenditures were necessary in such an enterprise.

Table XIII shows the sources and utilization of income. Both fees and appropriations must be considered together in financing extension classes. Fees cannot be considered wholly apart from appropriations, and neither can appropriations be considered wholly apart from fees.

TABLE XIII*

SOURCES AND UTILIZATION OF INCOME

Financial Support	*Percent* *Range*	*Median*
1. In what proportions is financial support derived from fees and appropriations?		
Fees	0-100	78
Appropriations	0-100	22
2. For what purposes is fee income used?		
Full-time salaries	5- 65	30
Part-time salaries	10- 90	70
Travel	5- 20	10
Supplies	2- 10	5
Contractual	1- 6	5
Equipment	1- 10	5
3. For what purposes are appropriations used?		
Full-time salaries	7-100	50
Part-time salaries	10- 78	30
Travel	1- 25	10
Supplies	2- 15	5
Contractual	2- 5	3
Equipment	1- 5	3

The range of percentages was presented merely for the purpose of showing the wide differences which existed and not for the purpose of suggesting statistical treatment. The wide range was due to the diversity of conditions and policies under which programs were operated. As suggested earlier in the chapter, the cost per student varied a great deal depending upon location of instructors, distances of travel, and geographic location. The data contained in Table XIII should not be considered as criteria by which any given program might be judged, but that they merely consist of information which might be helpful when considered with other elements. No definite financial patterns can be suggested or set up on the basis of national practice due to the fact that

*[The median percentages on financial support as reported by Dugan should be compared with those in a survey by C. O. Thompson in 1943, which reported the average of support from appropriations in ten institutions as 45.5 percent. In 1949, seven prominent state universities reported a range of subsidization from 30 to 62 percent, with the median around 55 percent.—Authors' note.]

conditions necessary to the support of the various programs throughout the country were different in every case.

Management of Fee Income

Fee income was deposited in revolving funds, general funds, and state funds, but in only one institution were fees deposited in more than one fund. Deposits in state funds were uncommon, but revolving funds and general funds were utilized in about an equal number of cases. When money was deposited in revolving funds, it was possible to use that money directly for the financing of the extension class program; and when money was deposited in university funds, the program was usually financed by either a legislative appropriation or an appropriation from the college or university, in which case fee collections were not used directly for the support of any portion of the work.

A frequent criticism of depositing extension money in general funds was that these funds were not made available for the payment of expenses; and that consequently, the inflexibilities inherent in such a policy tended to limit expansion regardless of the amount of work which might have been done. The problem was complicated further by legislatures that met every two years and made appropriations in lieu of fees, making it necessary to estimate expenditures and make budgets for a two-year period. Since fee-deposit policies which involved the utilization of revolving funds seemed to be satisfactory because of the flexibility possible and since policies concerning the use of general funds seemed to be unsatisfactory because of the general inflexibility, the conclusion was drawn that fee income should be made available for the purpose of immediate financing.

In most institutions revolving fund budgets which were approved by higher administrative officers of the college or university were made; and if actual income exceeded anticipated income, original estimates were increased to cover increased costs. In the latter case, however, it was assumed that increased income was directly related to increased costs. In some instances budgetary changes were made at the end of the fiscal year, but in most cases the changes were made at the time the need became evident. Since revolving budgets must necessarily be estimated on the basis of anticipated income, the assumption that changes should be possible was logical and justifiable. The following quotation exemplified the attitudes of deans of general extension toward flexible revolving fund budgets: "The budgets should be flexible to enable the division to spend money collected for the purpose for which it was collected regardless of cost, so long as costs are legitimate."

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Bases for Stipends and the Payment of Travel

The bases on which instructors in credit and certificate classes were paid and the manner in which reimbursement for travel was made are shown in Table XV.

TABLE XV

BASES FOR STIPENDS AND PAYMENT OF TRAVEL

Method of Payment	*Frequency*
1. On what bases are part-time instructors for credit classes paid?	
Per quarter or semester hours	24
Per clock hour in the classroom	6
In relation to campus salary and/or academic rank	6
Number of students in class	3
Flat amount	9
Distance of travel	10
2. On what bases are part-time instructors for certificate classes paid?	
Per clock hour in the classroom	26
In relation to campus salary and/or academic rank	4
Number of students in class	4
Flat amount	23
Distance of travel	4
3. Are travel expenses paid to instructors separately from stipends or salaries, or are they included in the stipends or salaries?	
Separately	45
Included	4

Although stipends for teaching credit classes were paid most commonly on the basis of quarter or semester hours, in some instances, campus salary, academic rank, number of students in class, and distance of travel were considered in arriving at a payment figure. In most cases, however, the stipend was computed merely on the amount of credit earned by the students. When flat amounts were paid, courses offered were usually for the same amount of credit or it was unnecessary for instructors to travel any great distance.

Although the stipend was usually determined by the amount of work necessary to teach a class, there was some contention that instructors should be paid in relation to campus salary and/or academic rank. Both contentions were supported by the belief that both formulas were satisfactory and that any change would produce serious handicaps in those particular institutions.

In only one case were resident faculty members not paid for teaching extension classes. The reason given was that the instructors who taught close to home should not be paid extra in order that additional money would be available for providing instruction in towns some distance from the campus.

Instructors teaching certificate courses were usually paid by the number of clock hours spent in the classroom or a flat amount. With the former policy it was possible to offer classes varying in length of time, while with the latter the length of the courses was usually about the same. There was less tendency to

include campus salary, academic rank, and distance of travel in the formula for certificate class stipends than for credit class stipends.

Reimbursement for travel expenses was usually paid separately from stipends or salaries and by travel requisitions; in only four instances was the travel reimbursement included in the payment for teaching classes. Separate reimbursement was highly satisfactory in that it could not be counted toward the stipend, and the cost of meals and lodging could be accounted for on a separate and distinct cost basis. It was frequently pointed out by the respondents that the travel should not be included with pay.

Earnings of Instructors

Table XVI shows the range of and median amounts earned by part-time instructors of both credit and certificate classes in and away from the community of residence. As may be noted, the pay for teaching credit classes away from home was somewhat more than for teaching the same classes in the community of residence, but pay for certificate classes was the same regardless of the place of residence of the instructor. Fifteen institutions paid the same amount for credit as for certificate teaching and six institutions indicated stipends ranging from $200 to $500 per course. This information was given in such form that it could not be included in the table.

Table XVI

Earnings of Part-time Instructors per Contact Hour

Conditions of Instruction	*Range*	*Median*
1. In town or community of residence:		
For teaching credit classes	$3.50-$10.00	$5.50
For teaching certificate classes	3.50- 10.00	5.00
2. Away from town or community of residence:		
For teaching credit classes	4.00- 7.50	6.50
For teaching certificate classes	4.00- 7.50	5.00

Considerable dissatisfaction was shown with the amounts of the teaching stipends, and in the majority of the cases the deans indicated that they hoped to raise them by a sizable margin in the near future. As a result of low pay, they were unable to secure instruction, or in many cases, were unable to secure instructors who were well-qualified. In general, an insufficient number of instructors, poorly qualified instructors, and a limitation of the extension class program tended to be consequences of low stipends.

Fee Charges and Refunds

Table XVII shows that the median fee charge to students registered in credit courses was seven dollars ($7) per semester hour and five dollars ($5) per quarter hour, and fifty cents (.50) per clock hour and seven dollars and fifty cents ($7.50) per course for certificate courses. There was some contention from institutions with lower fee charges that they should be raised in order to provide more

financial support for the program. These suggestions were usually made for the credit classes and not for the certificate classes with the comment that many adults probably would not register for the latter if fees were increased appreciably.

Fee charges were inadequate to support the program in the desired measure, but deans were somewhat reluctant to advise increases because of the possibility of limiting enrollment and because institutions of higher learning should be charged with the responsibility for financial support for off-campus as well as campus education. In two cases, it was suggested that the fees should actually be lowered for the same reason.

TABLE XVII

FEE CHARGES AND REFUNDS

	Charge		*Frequency*	
Fees and Refunds	*Range*	*Median*	*Yes*	*No*
1. What are the fee charges to students for credit courses?				
Per semester hour	$4.00-$10.00	$7.00		
Per credit hour	4.00- 7.00	5.00		
2. What are the fee charges to students for certificate courses?				
Per clock hour	.33- .75	.50		
Per course	4.00- 8.50	7.50		
3. Are students who withdraw from credit courses allowed refunds?			28	11
4. Are students who withdraw from certificate courses allowed refunds?			18	17

As indicated in items 3 and 4 of Table XVII, students who withdrew from credit classes were more likely to receive refunds than those who withdrew from certificate classes. Although similar reasons were given for allowing or not allowing refunds in both types of classes, refund policies were more lenient for credit students. The reasons given by institutions not making refunds to students who withdrew from class were as follows: (1) Small classes did not disintegrate because of a critical number of students withdrawing. (2) The students were encouraged to consider carefully the work to be done in the courses before registering. (3) A system which did not permit refunds discouraged shifting registrations.

Agricultural Extension

In the area of agricultural extension, funds expended totaled $77,223,791 in 1950-1951. Of the total cost of this program, 43 percent was borne by federal

appropriations. The balance came from state, county, and local sources. In 1948-1949, the percentages for each contribution were 46 percent from the federal government, 28.2 percent from state government, 22 percent from the county government, and 3.6 percent from farmers' organizations and other sponsoring groups. More than 66 percent of this money was spent in the county offices, 31.8 percent in the state offices, and only 1.7 percent in the Federal offices.[7]

Some further details on the fiscal aspects of this vast agricultural enterprise are contained in the following selection, by Lincoln Kelsey and Cannon Hearne.[8]

The cooperative feature of extension work is well illustrated in the way it is financed. Federal, state, county, and individual funds are all a part of the total extension budget. . . . Extension work is thus cooperatively planned, financed, and carried out. The framers of the original extension legislation held fast to this principle.

Another principle of the federal legislation authorizing extension appropriations is that funds are allocated according to the size of the job to be done. As shown previously, in some laws distribution is determined by using the size of rural population, while in others it is based upon the size of the farm population. The number of people to whom instruction should be given is the determining factor rather than the ability to pay.

These two principles are unique in educational legislation—cooperative financing for a cooperatively planned and carried out program and the distribution of funds according to the size of the teaching job to be done. There are variations in the details, but the principles are constant throughout all federal extension legislation. . . .

Extension financing from funds of federal origin is based upon the original cooperative extension legislation—the Smith-Lever Act. All major bills appropriating federal funds for extension passed since the Smith-Lever Act have been for the purpose of furthering the development of cooperative extension work as inaugurated under its terms. This act was a further development of earlier legislation that established the land-grant college system. There are four main features in the determination of allocations in present federal laws providing grant-in-aid funds to states:

1. A flat amount to each state which helps provide at least a minimum skeleton extension setup for each state.

2. Division according to farm population, which appears to favor certain states.

3. Division according to rural population, which appears to favor certain other states.

4. A fund appropriated to the Secretary of Agriculture for allocation in accordance with relative need.

In addition to these basic acts inaugurating and developing the cooperative extension service, appropriations of funds are made by Congress for the administration and coordination of extension work by the Secretary of Agriculture through the Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture . . .

The source of funds from within the states further demonstrates the cooperative principle of extension work. States, counties and farmer groups have furnished approximately half the funds and the federal government half. One of the strongest features of cooperative extension work is cooperative financing.

State legislative appropriations are, in most cases, made to the land-grant institution for expenditure for cooperative extension work. These funds are handled by the fiscal departments of the land-grant institution at the direction of the state director of extension.

County funds either are appropriated to and administered by a county cooperating sponsoring board or group, or are appropriated and administered by the governing body for the county. The first of these ways of handling county funds for extension work more nearly completes the cooperative principle. It also provides a local, nonpolitical group of rural people, interested in extension work, to deal with county governing bodies in seeking funds to finance the work. This tends to leave the county extension agents free to carry on extension work without political implications and without the embarrassment of asking for funds for themselves. It also provides another opportunity for lay leadership to develop and function. . . .

Funds from farm organizations and other contributions of this character are handled by the local sponsoring group. These are considered to be a part of the local extension budget in the same manner as funds from tax origin. The use of funds from private sources in the development of extension work dates back to its origin under a grant from the General Education Board. Businessmen and industrialists have throughout the life of the service continued to express their interest and support in terms of financial contributions. The encouragement and acceptance of such funds is entirely proper when used in a broad educational program devoted to the total public interest. The administration of such funds should be under the same general safeguards that surround the administration of public money. These funds may be useful in accomplishing work for which no public money has been appropriated. . . .

Economy and efficiency in the use of funds has been a tradition of the service. This grew partly from the integrity of officials responsible for administration but also from the close interest of farm people who are accustomed to practicing economy and thrift in their own affairs. Budgets have been carefully prepared to enable the execution of the desired programs. At the county level auditing committees have been familiar with every expenditure. Extension workers have felt a definite accountability to the public at close range. The necessity to

justify and secure appropriations has kept the Service "on its toes" to show results and demonstrate efficiency.

The confidence of rural people is annually expressed by the appropriations and contributions that are provided locally to make the work more productive. This fact is not altered by fluctuations in the amounts contributed in hard times and good times. In addition, the contribution of thousands of hours of time in voluntary service, to say nothing of the gasoline and other expenses borne by local leaders, multiplies the efficacy of the amount the taxpayers put into the system. Volunteer workers are themselves taxpayers. Extension workers, both professional and volunteer, are keenly interested in the careful and productive expenditure of every dollar used in the service. As public servants they live in a goldfish bowl. In a democracy it is not long before the public communicates its impressions to its legislative representatives. This is democracy in action. We like it and fight for it. But it means accountability to the people in a very direct way which asserts itself every time a budget is submitted.

Public Libraries

As will be seen from the following selection, expenditures for public libraries exceed those for agricultural extension. But here, again, it is argued that present appropriations are inadequate. Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, presents this point of view.[9]

. . . we need to spend a great deal more on libraries than we do. A great deal more in relative terms, that is, for the total amount we now spend on public libraries in the United States could be doubled with no perceptible effect on the economy. Total present expenditures for public-library support are on the order of $100,000,000 annually. This is about sixty-five cents a person, less than $\frac{1}{6}$ of 1 percent of public expenditures, about $\frac{1}{25}$ of 1 percent of the national income, about one-fiftieth of our expenditures on public schools, less than one-half the subsidy given newspapers and magazines through the second-class postal rate. Viewed nationally it is a negligible figure. Even if it were doubled, which is probably about what a good library service would cost, it would still be negligible as a burden on the national income. . . .

It is obviously not because the cost would be burdensome that we support libraries so inadequately. It is because we have never realistically faced the problem as we have been forced to do in the case of schools. Library appropriations slide on from year to year, an uncontroverted element in municipal budgets, arousing little opposition and commanding little vigorous support. In this municipality or that an energetic librarian or an active board of trustees will get a

sizable increase in support, especially when a new building is needed. In a few states here and there more effective state aid may be won. But little occurs from year to year to lift the national average of library support to a degree that would permit the new level of library service required by the times.

From many points of view library support is retrogressing. Though there has been a substantial dollarwise increase in library budgets since World War II, it has probably not kept pace with the dropping purchasing power of the dollar and certainly not with the combined effects of inflation and population increase. As a percentage of the national income library support has dropped sharply. . . . If effective library support is achieved over the next decade it will be because library trustees and citizens at large who are devoted to intellectual freedom and growth undertake a deliberate and concerted campaign of national scope to break out of present limitations and establish a new level of library service as the accepted norm in this country. We must do for libraries what we have done for education in general.

Robert D. Leigh's report on *The Public Library in the United States* has this to say on the fiscal situation.[10]

That the public library is fiscally insignificant in the national economy is, of course, not to say that it is culturally insignificant. There is no necessary relationship in the world of values between what is of most social importance and what costs the most money. The relatively small expenditure for the maintenance of the public library is due partly to the fact that it is a very economical social contrivance. It gives books a maximum use per volume, enabling every member in a community to have access to hundreds of thousands of books at an average cost per person equal to the price of a single volume if purchased privately. It is more economical than the alternative system of selling board-covered books to individuals and families.

The relatively low cost of library service probably explains to some extent the traditionally low temperature of library politics, since small, fixed amounts for the maintenance of libraries are voted annually without much question. This is an enviable political position so long as salaries and prices are adequate and there is no need of a program for library expansion, but . . . it causes serious difficulty in a dynamic society such as ours.

A more positive aspect of the public library's comparatively small total cost is that a reasonable increase in the funds granted to libraries—even a doubling of the present total within a decade—would not disturb the national economy, strain tax resources, or even dislocate government budget structures. Increased military expenditures, adopting compulsory health insurance, or doubling the

expenditures for public schools would present major fiscal problems as well as critical social decisions. Each one reaches down to the individual citizen to affect in important ways how he may spend his income. Doubling the country's expenditures for its public libraries, however, would cause almost no recognizable change in the individual's plan for his personal expenditures: one less movie a year for the family, a weekend at home, reading a library book perhaps, rather than an excursion on the clogged highways in the country, or a necktie less at Christmas time. In other words, the problem of public library expansion is primarily one of policy, improved organization, and political persuasion, not of large fiscal readjustments.

Library Budget Allocations

For what purposes do librarians want more money? Their almost unanimous answer is, for larger staff salaries. Salaries are already the largest single item in the public library's budget, and in recent years the proportion of total library funds devoted to salaries has been growing. In 1942 the ALA found that the average distribution of public library expenditures was: staff salaries, 55 percent; books, periodicals, and binding, 25 percent; other expenditures, including wages of the maintenance staff, 20 percent. In 1944-45, however, the average proportion of total funds going to staff salaries for the country as a whole was 58.7 percent. By 1947 the ALA, which had suggested the earlier distribution as a desirable norm, revised its suggested allocation by transferring 5 percent from books to salaries to make a 60-20-20 ratio. For larger cities, it suggested transferring another 2.5 percent each from books and "other expenditures" to make the proportion for salaries 65 percent.

The device of increasing staff salaries by reducing the amounts spent for books and maintenance has not represented any scientific reformulation of the best way to divide the public library's appropriation dollar. Rather, it has been an emergency adjustment to the postwar inflation of living costs and scarcity of professionally-trained personnel. It was probably a reflection also of the tendency for public libraries to operate within the limitations of established, static appropriation totals. As the costs for books and other maintenance were going up at the same time as the inflation of living costs which affected staff salaries, the long-term effect was likely to be deterioration of services.

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Projected Trends in National Expenditure

A logical need and logical possibilities for increasing public library income exist. A relevant question, however, is whether a substantial increase in revenue is likely to occur in the next ten years. One factor in determining its likelihood is the ability of the librarians, library boards, and their friends to mobilize effective persuasion to that end. We have examined this potential in the preceding chapter.

Two other factors which help to assess the probability of increased library funds are the ability of the economy to provide the funds and the habits, preferences, and interests of consumers in spending increased income. The most reliable appraisals regarding both factors are to be found in a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the actual trends for income and expenditure in the recent past in the United States projected into the proximate future, 1941-60, which has recently been completed by the Twentieth Century Fund. The analysis showed an expected increase in gross national production per capita from 1941 to 1960 of 34 percent, 17 percent from 1951 to 1960. This means that as far as total resources are concerned the public library can with reasonable safety count on the ability of the economy to support increased expenditures on a gradually ascending curve. If, however, the public library is to receive only a proportionate share of increased income from the expanding national income, its percentage of increase may be less than the 50 percent posited above on the basis of defined need.

Is the public library likely to receive more or less than a proportionate share of the general increase? The Twentieth Century Fund study indicates to what products and services the increases will go if present trends continue throughout the next decade. The trend lines for public library expenditures from 1951 to 1960 indicate increases falling within a low expectation of 13 percent and a high expectation of 30 percent. Broadening its analysis by projecting the existing trends of both public and private expenditure, the study indicated where the bulk of the extra money is likely to go in the next ten years. Almost half the increase is expected to go into consumer expenditures. Among consumer expenditures some of the increases per capita expected for the period 1941-1960 are: for consumer transportation, 45 percent; for food, liquor, and tobacco, 22 percent; and for recreation, 36 percent. Within the category of recreation, the expected increase for reading is only 14 percent. Thus, according to present trends expenditures for reading as recreation will not increase so rapidly when incomes rise as do other items. The same trends emerge in an analysis made by the United States Department of Agriculture of consumer purchases at different levels of income. These studies indicated that although expenditures for formal education and recreation as a whole rise more rapidly than the average of all expenditures when income goes up, reading expenditures increase more slowly than the general average.

Thus, it would seem that to talk of a 50 percent increase over present public library expenditures by the end of the next decade is to talk in terms of possibilities rather than expectations based on established trends.

But the ultimate prospects for altering the present rates of increase between the public services so as to give the library a larger proportionate share are not entirely bleak. As we have analyzed them, the favorable factors are: an increase in the public library's organized political support, larger per capita incomes,

more formal schooling, a larger percentage of urbanism. Not only are per capita incomes increasing generally, but in some states, such as Florida and Texas, recent increases are so substantial that public library expenditures lag far behind the expectation of support that their per capita incomes justify. Over the country as a whole, too, a larger percentage of young people each year are completing eighth grade, high school, and college education. And more people are leaving the farms to move into urban or near-urban areas. Organized political effort under the leadership of librarians, moreover, is increasingly directed toward the development of rural library services and to the discovery of means of reducing artificial tax ceilings. If all these favorable factors could operate at a maximum speed and effectiveness, the 50 percent increase of total public library expenditures would not be an impossible achievement. The probability of increase, however, is considerably less.

These calculations leave out of account two unpredictable factors in the present situation which may have a negative effect on the possibility of an increase of public library support. One is the growing concentration of national effort and income on the needs of defense and economic aid implied in the vigorous prosecution of the cold war and total diplomacy. In such an effort during the next decade, the more permanent cultural needs of the people may receive low priorities. The second possibility is that the newer means of mass communication, especially television, may be introducing a trend counter to the increase of book reading and library use which have hitherto resulted from an up curve of formal schooling. The newer media may provide more and more of the information, ideas, and recreation for the available hours of leisure, so that book reading and library use will become more narrowly limited as activities of both children and adults. As yet no such influence has been generally effective according to surveys of citizen time and attention in relation to the media of communication. For the present we may assume that during the next decade: considerable increase of public library income is possible; some increase is probable; unpredictable or uncontrollable factors will determine to some extent the amount of actual increase; but among the factors are the comprehensiveness and effectiveness of the organization of librarians themselves directed to increasing tax support for libraries on a state and local basis.

All the illustrations used thus far involve institutions using public funds. The fiscal operations of private agencies of adult education are more difficult to describe. One illustration consists of the financial statement for the Adult Education Council of Denver for the year ending March 31, 1952. The point to be noted in studying it is the extent to which this type of organization depends upon voluntary contributions.[11]

RECEIPTS

Balance on Hand April 1, 1951		$ 2,273.88
Member Contributions		10,432.29
Non-member Contributions		246.00
Individual Members		130.00
Quarterly Class Calendar		559.43
Program Planners Publications		27.15
Conferences and Institutes		791.57
Miscellaneous		660.02
	Total Receipts	$15,120.84

EXPENDITURES

Salaries		$ 5,606.97
Withholding Tax and Social Security		1,268.18
Expense Account		443.24
Educational Opportunities (printing)		1,154.91
Printing		106.75
Stationery		2.25
Postage		808.08
Telephone and Telegraph		11.89
Supplies		150.47
Subscriptions		33.85
Conferences		985.63
Miscellaneous		59.43
	Total Expenditures	$11,862.68
Balance on hand, March 31, 1952		$ 3,258.16

Guy Fox, Treasurer

There is no question that sizable sums of money are already being spent on adult-education activities in the United States. It is only when one begins to identify the variety of unmet needs which still exist in most of the communities of this country that one gets some conception of the magnitude of the tasks still remaining to be done. Educational opportunities for all adults, geared to their needs and the needs of the communities in which they live, cannot be provided without an adequate financial base. That we can afford such a program is clear. That we really want such a program is as yet unclear. But it is no exaggeration to state that the perpetuation of the democratic system and the principles of self-government may well depend upon our willingness to underwrite more generously the facilities required for lifelong learning.

EVALUATION AND RESEARCH

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COMMON SENSE is something we are all familiar with. Common sense is just what it is named: the essential characteristics and relationships derived from a long accumulation of experiences common to a group. The wisdom of the human race gathered in this way is tremendous. This effort to summate long experience, to seek clues that will enable us to plan our actions more effectively, is an important human characteristic. We possess it by virtue of our highly developed nervous system, which permits us to relate things which are not contiguous in time or space.

Few persons recognize that science is a part of the same process. It seeks the same ends—understandings which will permit us better to control behavior—but does it more systematically so as to reduce increasingly the imperfections of our common observations. In like manner, we shall in this chapter try to show how evaluation and research in adult education represent an extension and refinement of the day-to-day activities of practitioners.

You are—at least for the moment—the director of an adult-education program. In *Adult Education* you read about a forum on international issues which is described in enthusiastic terms. You have been aware for some time that this is a possible additional area for your program. Here are some things that you might do:

1. You might take the program outlined in the article, make minor modifications to meet your local situation, and start the various administrative steps necessary to get it under way as part of your program. After it has been carried out, you could consider the general response as indicated by the attendance and the remarks that various persons made about it. In relation to your own enthusiasm for the project and your other commitments, you could then decide whether the project should be continued another time.

2. You might write the author of the article for more detailed information regarding the project and the evidence of its success. Having been encouraged by the reply, you could call together a local committee, lay the information before them, and ask for advice regarding a possible forum in your community. If the decision is favorable, you could set up a committee to assist in conducting the forum. At the completion of the forum, you could ask the committee to study the results and advise you on further forum activities.

3. You might get together as much information as you can from the adult-education literature regarding forums. If your judgment indicates possible positive results for your community, you could ask your adult-education advisory committee to consider the situation with respect to forums. The committee would look at such things as the aims of the adult-education program, the work of other agencies, the readiness of the community for forums, the availability of outside help. On several points the committee might ask for additional evidence, which you undertake to provide. If the committee recommends favorable action, steps could be taken to ensure that the objectives are clearly defined and plans made as to the ways of getting information on the contribution of the forum. Special training sessions might be provided to ensure more accurate recording of evidence. The local college might be asked to undertake a study of the attitude changes resulting from the forum. After the evidence is in, the advisory committee could give detailed consideration to its meaning. Uncertain at several points how to weigh conflicting evidence, the committee might call in an expert to assist it. Finally, revised objectives could be formulated for the coming year and a modification of the forum agreed upon.

It would be possible to describe a wide variety of other ways of proceeding in an adult-education situation of this kind. Our point here is to illustrate the fact that evaluation and research are not specialized activities reserved for a few highly trained persons but that they are—in varying degrees—integral parts of the action process. You will note that the terms *evaluation* and *research* were not used in the accounts above but that the functions were there nonetheless. Wherever and whenever decisions are made, evaluation and research are involved. We shall be satisfied here to note only some of the ways in which the use of evaluation and research was illustrated in the three cases.

In situation 1, you, as director, were sensitive to the fact that the plan described needed adaptation to your community. Presumably, in making the modi-

fications, you drew upon information about the nature of your local situation. Since this sensitivity to the need for modification and this use of information was casual and unsystematic, we cannot call it research, but it is the beginning out of which, through more thoroughgoing extensions of these same processes, research does come. Similarly, you made a kind of evaluation of the enterprise in deciding that it was promising enough to warrant continuing.

Situation 2 is similar to situation 1 except that the process is broadened by your bringing in a variety of judgments through the use of committee members. The process is much the same but has the advantage of having several points of view represented and therefore is more likely to come closer to representing the general community situation. Since it will be based on various points of view, it is more likely to make clear the need for additional data.

Situation 3 comes still closer to illustrating activities which might conceivably be designated as evaluation and research. The description of the committee activities points to a definite effort to establish criteria, which is one of the important characteristics of evaluation. Seeking the help of the local college to undertake a study of attitude changes might result in something that could be an extension of a simple evaluation process or that could be broadened still further to become research. If the study of attitude changes were centered primarily on before-and-afterward measurements, we could classify it as evaluation. If, at the same time, an effort were made to identify factors which seem to be associated with change, it would also be an illustration of research.

One important thing to note is that the activities are a functional part of an ongoing process and are included because they seem to offer promise of making the process better. They are not dragged in just because somebody thinks it is the thing to do; they are included in order to enable the persons responsible for the program to make the necessary decisions more adequately.

Evaluation

In order to illustrate the way in which the evaluation activities grow out of the regular work of adult educators, we shall give some extensive quotations from Thomas A. Van Sant's report on the Baltimore Conference, a community survey made in cooperation with a regional adult-education group. This study is one of the significant inventions in adult education and a milepost in the field of evaluation. It is more extensive than most, for reasons that will be clear as its genesis is described, but the basic principles are readily applicable in situations ranging from an agency program to state and national programs.

The Baltimore study originated in a meeting of a group of adult educators from Region II of the National Education Association's Department of Adult Education. This group wanted to find an activity that would be more fruitful for the Region than "just another conference." Out of the discussion emerged the idea of associating with a community in a cooperative study of its adult-education activities. The region would be able to provide consultant help to work with

the local adult educators, and the vitality of an actual situation would provide much more meaning to regional members, since the conference sessions would center around the work of the community that would be the locus of the study.

Van Sant, Director of Adult Education for the Baltimore Public Schools, presented the possibility to his staff. This group received it enthusiastically, and out of the discussion grew the idea of presenting it to representatives of all adult-education groups in the city. Such a group was called together and endorsed the idea. A local committee was set up to work with the Regional Committee in planning. Nineteen areas for study were selected.

For each area a local committee and a regional committee were established. There was correspondence between these committees in setting the pattern for study. The local groups then gathered data in preparation for the conference, at which time the persons from the region came to Baltimore, visited some of the activities, and joined with the local groups in formulating findings and recommendations.

The materials below have been selected from Van Sant's report in the *Baltimore Bulletin of Education.*[1] Note that there was agreement at the start on a basic point of view which all participants would use. This is essential for good evaluation.

C. General Assumptions Basic to All Areas

1. The structure of Adult Education in any community is a complex covering many diversified services and activities conducted by numerous agencies both public and private, and formal and informal.
2. A more accurate picture of adult education within a city or other area can be secured through a cooperative study by local committees and outside specialists than could be secured by either group alone.

D. Definitions and Recognized Limitations

1. *Definitions*:
   a. Education: a means used by society to provide for the continuation of the culture that exists and to assist in the extension and the enrichment of that culture. This method involves the systematic presentation and study of factors and data that are relevant to the problems being considered or to the accumulation of knowledge, information, arts, attitudes, or skills desired.
   b. Adult Education: those *educational activities* carried on by individuals who are (1) beyond the compulsory school age; (2) not regularly attending school as their major activity, (3) pursuing a study or a training schedule under an organized educational program as a part-time activity.

2. *Limitations*:

   It is recognized that there will be programs of adult education in Baltimore that will not be studied or evaluated in this Work-Survey Conference. Whenever possible, however, at least a descriptive statement of these activities will be secured and added to the over-all file of the conference for reference and analysis.

   It is likewise realized that further limitations are incurred by decisions as to functional areas to be studied, and by other decisions as to form, organization, and administration of the conference details.

E. Tentative Statement of Philosophy of Adult Education in Baltimore

A tentative statement of a philosophy of adult education is given in outline form below as a basis for discussion and development that may ultimately result in the composition of a generally accepted philosophy by the fall Conference.

1. Adults can and do learn and it is of value to the community to provide educational opportunities for individuals to increase their appreciations and knowledge, and to develop skills and socially desirable attitudes.
2. Adult education should encourage the cultivation of the broad and richly varied interests of adults.
3. Adult Education is part of a pattern of educational experience that begins at earliest childhood and may well extend through all the years of life.
4. The effectiveness of an adult education program is not measured alone by the degree of difficulty of subject matter involved but rather by the extent to which the program meets the need of the individual, gives him opportunity for creative expression and stimulates continuing growth.
5. It is the responsibility of adult educators to arouse the interests of adults in individual and community needs and problems, and to assist adults in setting up educational programs that will help them to understand the implications of the needs and possible solutions for the problems.
6. When desirable and practical new programs should be built through existing agencies, with the full understanding that new agencies may be required or that a readjustment of the functions of existing agencies may be in order.

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In general the structure and work of each local committee was originally outlined and expressed as follows:

F. Local Committee (Area)

1. Chairman—appointed by Local Planning Committee
2. Membership—developed by area committee chairmen in consultation with other members of his committee.

3. Work (suggestions arranged without reference to any priority scheme)
   a. to survey the local program or programs and present a report on what exists
   b. to survey the needs for such a program in Baltimore and to measure the needs against the program that exists
   c. to keep in touch with their Special Area Regional Committee chairman during the summer months
   d. to survey interest and participation in the program and measure them in terms of the need, the existing program, and the available program
   e. to review existing plans for expansion or the enrichment of services that exist or plans for the curtailment of such services
   f. to train local committee members so that they will know the "what" and the "how" of their tasks
   g. to assign to various local committee members special areas of responsibility and to provide means for filing, analysis, and compilation of the data that are collected
   h. to establish general criteria covering such items as: availability of physical facilities, availability of trained personnel, kinds of materials used with adult groups, methods used in working with adult groups, organization of the service for adults, administration of program for adults, objectives of services, philosophy governing or underlying service, democratic organizations and public participation in planning, sensitivity to public interest and needs, public relations
   i. to establish a time-table for individual members and for committee activities
   j. suggested line of immediate action in line with what has preceded.

The nineteenth special area committee was to be for *Evaluation and Coordination.* It was the key local committee of the survey, assisting in an analysis of specific area committee plans while the survey proceeded, gathering general data about the city as a whole, keeping a progress record of achievements, and completions, receiving the pre-conference reports of all eighteen special area committees for abstracting and general reproduction for the Conference itself, and, through its membership, keeping in close contact with lay opinion. Also, its pre-conference activity was to be concerned with establishing and maintaining communications with the chairmen and members of its counterpart committee on the regional level. During the Conference itself, it was to join membership with the Regional Evaluation and Coordination Committee and be responsible for maintaining the flow of communications to the separate committees, gathering and editing the conference reports from each area, also developing the overall final report forms for the last session of the conference and also for the conference reports.

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Regional plans accepted by the local groups for the Conference period included: (1) a pre-conference "briefing" session for all leaders of groups and recorders, (2) a first morning general registration, (3) a first afternoon general session for conference orientation, (4) separate report sessions on the first evening during which each specific local committee would make its survey report to its specific counterpart regional committee, (5) general discussion, visits, and observation sessions by each separate local-regional area committee during the second day of the conference, (6) general survey report revision sessions by each local-regional area committee on the third conference morning, and (7) a final general feedback and summary session for the whole conference.

The conference was evaluated carefully by local and regional representatives. One of the most impressive aspects was the amount of time contributed by local and regional leaders. Another was the functional nature of the study leading to a continuance after the conference. Van Sant summarizes the values as follows:[2]

WHAT WAS NEW ABOUT THE BALTIMORE COOPERATIVE SURVEY?

That question has been asked many times. Perhaps there is no direct answer because there was no intention to create anything new for novelty's sake. Rather, and compellingly, there was a movement to put some of the best developments of *secondary school evaluation* committees, some of the interesting possibilities of *work-group conferences*, and some of the direction of *action-research* projects to work in uncovering adult-education programs and the educational needs and interests of adults. . . .

To begin with, *adult education* implied many formal and informal educational activities for adults both within schools and without. Second, the study, it was felt, could not have growing value unless it were the product of those who participated in the existing programs. Thirdly, the Cooperative-Survey was the major issue and the Work-Survey Conference became a convenient time-goal to achieve for making reports, reassessing resources, securing the needed review and guidance of regional leaders, and for a general reappraisal of targets. Fourth, control of creating a working philosophy, of outlining basic assumptions, and of charting a time-schedule for committee work was the product of the cooperative action of the Local Planning Committee. Fifth, this project reached out toward the techniques of action-research knowing full well that little more than a general exploration of possibilities would result the first time but very hopeful that great interest would emerge as a result of recognized values and identified needs for such research. And, last perhaps to be singled out as a prime-factor was the successful intent to utilize the wealth of able, skilled, and inspiring leadership that

exists and that is multiplying in Region II of the Department of Adult Education of the N.E.A.

But these prime factors and the question of newness should not obscure the different categories of interest that do exist here and elsewhere in the workings and the outcomes of the Survey and the Conference. In Baltimore, it is now felt that those interested in the further growth of adult education services may well find the sound values have already been achieved, and that there exists evidence that additional values are to be expected. Specifically, the following may be thought of as values received thus far: Foremost, *nineteen different local groups* comprising over two hundred members were organized and *worked together over a period of more than seven months in the development of a full, mutual-interest in adult education.* They, through their representatives on the Central Planning Committee, discussed and accepted, (*a*) working concepts of what they could use as definitions of adult education services, (*b*) a series of statements they could use as a common philosophy for the period of the survey and conference period, (*c*) limitations within which they would work, (*d*) disagreements and differences that were to be recognized even though working agreements were emphasized, and, (*e*) a project that placed each as but one service, or organization, or agency, or group in a very complex whole which was seen as dependent upon but vastly more important than any of its parts.

Secondly, through the very organization of the survey and the conference, *separate organizations grew to understand the significant importance of their own services and the multi-dimensional interdependence of all services.* Thus their own identity and program held for them a bit more clearly a new meaning, and individual responsibilities and the responsibilities of others were weighed together for a closer approximation of better general values. Also, looking so critically at their own philosophy, their own program, and the needs and interests of the public they served, produced for them an increased ability for self-evaluation.

Thirdly, most *local groups came into contact with outside leaders,* specialists, and resource people who enriched their viewpoint and gave them the help of a friendly but more objective analysis of what they were doing. These associations gave greater depth to their activities and revealed previously overlooked potential values.

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Regionally, the values are harder to ascertain. . . . It has been stated by regional leaders that they benefited directly (1) *by working through this experimental approach to both a cooperative-survey and a work-survey conference,* (2) *by becoming acquainted with a large number of adult education leaders* in different areas of adult education services and by working cooperatively with them over such an extended period, (3) *by participating in a work-conference* where a study was made of live issues presented in part by those engaged in the "going" programs, and where recommendations had to be considered within the

reality context of possible immediate use and work-plans for future developments, (4) by not only working on a conference problem, but *by visiting the problem-in-action within the community setting,* (5) *by seeing an actual demonstration of the ability of different adult education organizations and agencies to accept a position of one in a complex whole, and where each was actively seeking that interdependent position where its contribution would be the greatest,* (6) *by adding to the growing literature on adult education* surveys and adult education conferences, (7) *by extending their experiences in the broadening pattern of first-hand observation* and knowledge about other programs of adult education, and, (8) *by forming new lines of communication within the region among adult education leaders.*

Indirectly, perhaps, the regional leaders hope to achieve value from their efforts (1) by stimulating improved cooperative-surveys and work-survey conferences within their own localities, (2) by maintaining the new contacts with other regional and national leaders with whom they worked, (3) by the increased emphasis placed by the region as a whole on local problems within the region, and (4) by securing for further study some of the analyses that will be published about the different phases of their experience. . . .

The AEA recognizes the great importance of evaluation and one of its committees, set up when the Association was being planned, was to deal with this topic. This committee, under the chairmanship of Homer Kempfer, at that time on the staff of the U.S. Office of Education, has been very active in helping to promote a better understanding of evaluation. The committee has been working to formulate some main ideas. At the time this chapter was being prepared, the material was still in draft form and the selections have been taken from this draft.[3] The reader can get the full copy by writing to the office of the AEA.

Evaluation is the process of assessing the degree to which objectives are being achieved. Evaluation is the comparison of actual conditions with desirable conditions. It answers this question: "To what extent are we doing what we are trying to do?"

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As adult educators we evaluate so that we can do better. In adult education the most important direct outcome of evaluation should be continuous improvement of program—of goal and of method. Results of evaluation should be fed back continuously to stimulate and guide further improvement in program. By seeing what has been done and what is yet to be done, one can often gain insight into the factors necessary to achieve the goal. In taking an analytical and critical look, deficiencies in method become apparent. Unmet needs may be discovered.

Persistent problems may be defined more clearly and purposes reformulated. Questions are raised and the search for answers stimulated. New research is indicated. Out of such activity comes growth and improvement of program. Through critical evaluation adult educators can best assure their own growth and improvement of their own competence.

While stimulating growth and effectiveness of program is the most valuable outcome, we also evaluate for other purposes.

We evaluate to justify budgets and to defend programs—to provide boards of education, city councils, state legislatures, and the general public with evidence that the program is accomplishing its desired objectives without costing too much. A program of adult education can serve its functions best when policy-makers and the total community are aware of its effectiveness. A sound public relations program is best based on sound evaluation.

As staff members and volunteer workers we evaluate to gain greater psychological security and higher morale for ourselves. We respond with more vigor and intelligence when we know the degree to which our effort brings the results desired. Evaluation forces us to clarify the direction in which we are moving.

Evaluation only for comparative purposes is a pitfall. Simple comparison of one program with another for the sake of seeing how they measure up to each other is an infantile practice and unworthy reason. It is like a small boy saying, "My dad is taller than yours."

The Evaluative Process

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Dynamic evaluation . . . requires three points: (1) a clear goal, (2) a knowledge of present position in relation to the goal, and (3) the position at some past time. By comparing the past position with the present in relation to the goal, one can tell how he is getting along.

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Whose Objectives? Who sets the objectives in adult education?

Two general groups have objectives in adult education—the participants and the leadership staff (professional and lay).

Objectives of the participants are primary. They may have a personal or social origin. Personal objectives of individuals determine a large part of the adult curriculum. The remainder emerges from the social order of which the adults are the primary constituents. Of all age groups in a democracy, adults, being legally and theoretically mature, are least subject to "imposed curricula." To a gradually diminishing degree as a child grows older, the adult world sets behavior patterns for him to learn. In a democracy the highest human power which sets learning objectives for adults is the collective will of his peers.

Whether the objectives are individual or social, the leadership staff does not establish the educational objectives *for* adults. Within the limits of social ap-

proval, staff responsibility is to find out what adults want to do and to help them learn how to attain their purposes. (1) In regard to educational objectives the staff can help adults think through their situations, assess their needs, and rethink their goals, but it should not attempt to set up learning goals for them. (2) The chief function of adult education leadership is to help adults achieve the educational objectives which they—the adults—have determined.

Examples of educational objectives of participants are:

to learn how better to raise my child

to learn mechanical drafting as a way of increasing my income

to learn how to get along with my boss

to learn how to avoid being sick

Objectives of leadership staff are usually program objectives. Some of them may be stated in this way:

We want to help cultural groups to resolve their differences and live together amicably.

We want to help all people to learn better how to participate intelligently and effectively in our democracy.

We want to help more old people live out their lives with greater satisfaction.

We want to train more people for better jobs.

Staff goals may be expressed differently, but they should always be in harmony with the objectives of adults. This rule is not achieved as often as desired. Educators used to setting objectives and curriculum patterns that are "good for" children and youth may find it difficult to discover the educational objectives felt by adults—or to help them properly to clarify those objectives. Likewise, staff members at home with the subject-matter-to-be-learned type of education may not feel secure in the helping-people-solve-their-problems type of experience. A great deal of energy is still spent in trying to interest adults in international affairs when their high-priority problems are rooted in their jobs, families, and neighbors. One task of adult education leadership, of course, is to help adults see more clearly the connection between personal interests and abstract and remote matters.

Developing Objectives. Objectives, then, must be rooted in the needs of people as they feel them or can be led to recognize them. Objectives either are directly, or they provide the basis for, evaluative criteria-standards or characteristics which the adult educator attempts to help adults reach. Objectives of most worth must be

(*a*) expressed in terms of behavior
(*b*) clearly and specifically stated
(*c*) widely understood and accepted by all involved in an activity
(*d*) attainable, and
(*e*) recognized as potentially changing.

Establishing sound, clear, and attainable objectives in terms of behavior may be a difficult undertaking. Yet it has to be done. Otherwise both the educator and the participants will be operating in the dark. Setting adequate objectives is half the task of evaluation. The definition and redefinition of goals—clarifying what one is *trying to do*—is a valuable outcome of evaluation. Its doing well yields half the benefits of the evaluative process.

PRINCIPLES OF PROGRAM EVALUATION

1. *Self-appraisal is better than appraisal by outsiders.* Know thyself. Evaluative surveys by "outside experts" which do not adequately involve local people notoriously result in little improvement. Prescriptions in survey reports may be read by a few but often are not acted upon. A small percentage of the recommendations may be adopted but many of them are ignored. This is partly because the people in policy-making positions have not developed an adequate understanding of or commitment to the recommended changes.

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While self-appraisal induces growth, a combination of self-and-outside appraisal often is still better. Outsiders can see us as we cannot. The interaction of outsiders and local folk results in maximum stimulation and growth.

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2. *Everyone concerned should be involved in evaluation.* Evaluation can be at any level. The board of control evaluates. A single administrator or an administrative team can evaluate. The staff can be brought into the process to its benefit. More benefit will result if the participating clientele are brought into the evaluation—the students, club members, everyone taking any part. The public, too, evaluates, sometimes directly and sometimes through its elected representatives.

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3. *Evaluation offers greatest potential benefit if it is a long-time, continuous, and built-in part of the total educational process.* One-shot evaluations are insufficient. While certain steps need to be taken at specific times, evaluation should be continuous and needs to be integrated with all other phases of the educational process. If results of evaluation are fed back to help in the redefinition of goals and improvement of approach, method and technique, the whole educative process can benefit. Constant testing and checking can assist in the development of maximum perfection in the educational activity.

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4. *Evaluation should be more concerned with results than with energy spent.* In adult education assessment of behavior changes is more important than assessment of machinery. Number of films shown, books borrowed, instructional hours spent, money budgeted, broadcasts made, and conferences attended may account for time and energy spent but in themselves reveal little evidence of changes in

behavior wrought. Number of participants, listeners counted, meetings held, and average daily attendance are easy-to-collect data but have limited educational significance. Horse races are well attended; slapstick gains an audience; and the average daily attendance of employees is high. These indices provide only indirect evidence of changed behavior.

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5. *Objectives should recede as they are approached.* Objectives are usually ideals. However, to capture the thrill of success, short-term program goals are often set. Greater stimulation often results if goals are attainable within a reasonable future.

"We cannot enroll every adult but we can increase our enrollment 50 percent next year."

"We can halve our drop-out rate."

The task of the adult leader is to translate these principles into ways of operating. It is helpful to classify evaluation activities in relation to their objectives:

a single meeting, course, or conference,
a program of an organization,
a community program,
one's personal skills as an adult educator.

For the first type, the terminal-reaction slips are used increasingly. In the simplest form they provide an opportunity to rate the activity on a five-point scale:

Poor *Mediocre* *All right* *Good* *Excellent*

In addition, there is an opportunity for the participants to tell what they particularly liked and disliked and to give suggestions for improvement. An illustration will be found in the first issue of *Adult Leadership.*

The organizational program evaluations and the community survey are more complex but are well within the scope of the abilities of local leaders who are willing to use resources available. The Baltimore study illustrates some aspects of both. The most important points are:

a. Start early, since evaluation depends upon clear objectives and bench marks with which to compare later results.

b. Involve a wide range of persons immediately and keep the number of persons who are actively involved on the increase throughout.

c. Know for what you want facts. Don't get bogged down in details which never get used.

Glen Burch's list of criteria for an adult-education program is a useful guide in looking at a community program of adult education. Other suggestions will be

found in Joanna Colcord's *Your Community*[4] and in the Michigan State College Community Scale, which was referred to in Chapter 16. Burch's statement, made in connection with a study of the Washington, D.C., adult-education program follows:[5]

For the purposes of evaluation, adult education should be regarded as an over-all community venture fulfilling the purposes of a democratic society to which a variety of agencies and organizations, public and private, contribute opportunities of one kind or another. This over-all program of adult education:

Should assure adequate opportunities for continuing education to all adults regardless of age, race, sex, religion, economic positions or previous education.

Should be conceived in terms of individual and social needs and interests of adults served.

Should provide a clearinghouse of information concerning all opportunities available in the area.

Should provide for the coordination of activities of agencies and organizations individually responsible for providing opportunities in the field of adult education.

Should make adequate provision for individual adult guidance and counseling in the selection of adult educational opportunities.

Should provide for representative lay participation in the planning of individual agency activities and in the construction of the community's over-all program.

Should employ methods and materials suitable to the people and to the purpose served.

Should ensure that continuity in opportunities offered is adequate—both as to scope and length—to the social and individual purposes to be served.

Should provide teachers and leaders competent in adult education techniques.

Should provide facilities for the preparation and in-service training of professional and volunteer adult education leaders and teachers.

Should provide adequate publicity and promotion of adult educational opportunities.

Should provide adequate physical facilities in which to conduct adult education activities.

One can begin a personal evaluation of one's skills by means of a check list based on the major topics of this book. This list can be extended to include areas which we have not covered here. The personal evaluation of an adult educator can be made more effective by the group process. If leaders in a community or an area can join together in making a list of points and then can visit one an-

other's programs, the process becomes more fruitful and more objective. This would be something akin to the process used in the Baltimore study. It requires some maturity to be willing to participate in such a process, but participation is enjoyable as well as profitable once one gets into a good group.

Research

The type of approach underlying evaluation also characterizes research. In both cases the aim is to achieve tested knowledge, which will enable us to have a higher degree of certainty about the meanings of the activities in which we are engaged. In the illustrations used at the beginning of the chapter, we were dubious as to just what the casual estimates of a single individual regarding changes in the community really were worth. If a range of persons give carefully considered judgments based on stated objectives and a known base line, we believe the results will have much greater significance.

Evaluation measures the amount of change; research seeks to identify the factors involved and study their interrelations. Evaluation asks, "How much change has taken place?" Research asks, "What factors are related to the change?" The two are interrelated—evaluation often identifies factors and estimates their relations to the results observed, and research requires that the change be measured.

For a specific illustration of research in adult education, we shall take a portion of a research study done by Kurt Lewin and his co-workers, entitled "Group Decision and Social Change." Although Lewin does not use the term *adult education*, the importance of the study is indicated in the following paragraph:[6]

> Scientifically the question of group decision lies at the intersection of many basic problems of group life and individual psychology. It concerns the relation of motivation to action and the effect of a group setting on the individual's readiness to change or to keep certain standards. It is related to one of the fundamental problems of action-research, namely, how to change group conduct so that it would not slide back to the old level within a short time. It is in this wider setting of social processes and social management that group decision should be viewed as one means of social change.

Lewin was concerned with the methods of producing changes in the ways in which people behaved. In the study cited here, he wanted to get housewives during World War II to serve more kidneys, beef hearts, and sweetbreads. He knew that a good lecture or group discussion might be very interesting to the lecture audience or the group members and yet not lead to much change in serving the less popular meats. He reasoned that decision-making was important, and

he planned an experiment to test his hypothesis. He reports the experiment as follows:[7]

Group Decision

Lecture Compared with Group Decision (Red Cross Groups). A preliminary experiment in changing food habits was conducted with six Red Cross Groups of volunteers organized for home nursing. Groups ranged in size from 13 to 17 members. The objective was to increase the use of beef hearts, sweetbreads, and kidneys. If one considers the psychological forces which kept housewives from using these intestinals, one is tempted to think of rather deep-seated aversions requiring something like psychoanalytical treatment. Doubtless a change in this respect is a much more difficult task than, for instance, the introduction of a new vegetable such as escarole. There were, however, only 45 minutes available.

In three of the groups attractive lectures were given which linked the problem of nutrition with the war effort, emphasized the vitamin and mineral value of the three meats, giving detailed explanations with the aid of charts. Both the health and economic aspects were stressed. The preparation of these meats was discussed in detail as well as techniques for avoiding those characteristics to which aversions were oriented (odor, texture, appearance, etc.). Mimeographed recipes were distributed. The lecturer was able to arouse the interest of the groups by giving hints of her own methods for preparing these "delicious dishes," and her success with her own family.

For the other three groups Mr. Alex Bavelas developed the following procedure of group decision. Again the problem of nutrition was linked with that of the war effort and general health. After a few minutes, a discussion was started to see whether housewives could be induced to participate in a program of change without attempting any high-pressure salesmanship. The group discussion about "housewives like themselves" led to an elaboration of the obstacles which a change in general and particularly change toward sweetbreads, beef hearts, and kidneys would encounter, such as the dislike of the husband, the smell during cooking, etc. The nutrition expert offered the same remedies and recipes for preparation which were presented in the lectures to the other groups. But in these groups preparation techniques were offered after the groups had become sufficiently involved to be interested in knowing whether certain obstacles could be removed.

In the earlier part of the meeting a census was taken on how many women had served any of these foods in the past. At the end of the meeting, the women were asked by a showing of hands who was willing to try one of these meats within the next week.

A follow-up showed that only 3 percent of the women who heard the lectures

served one of the meats never served before, whereas after group decision 32 percent served one of them.

Lewin then analyzes this experiment for such factors as degree of involvement, motivation and decision, individual versus group expectation, and leader personality. He points out the need for further experimentation.[8]

To determine which of these or other factors are important, a number of systematic variations have to be carried out. To determine, for instance, the role of the decision as such, one can compare the effect of group discussion with and without decision. To study the role of group involvement and the possibility of sensing the changing group sentiment, one could introduce decisions after both, lecture and discussion, and compare their effects.

Lewin followed with several other experiments but points out that the understanding of why group decision proves more effective than other methods calls for much additional research.

Although this illustration is taken from a comprehensive study by one of the outstanding men in social research, it points up things that will be found at any level. One of these is the value of carefully analyzed hypotheses before any experiments are undertaken. It is a common saying in research that one can get the right answers only by asking the right questions. Much of the skill in research lies in the analysis which permits one to identify the significant factors and then to devise ways of checking the relationships of these factors with careful evaluations of changes.

A second point is that research proceeds by a system of "successive approximations." The first attempt is apt to be crude; this can lead to refinements which achieve more accurate results, which, in turn, lead to still more refined experiments.

The task of building an adequate research base for adult education is both critical and difficult and calls for the cooperative efforts of all persons concerned. We have tried to show in this chapter that many adult educators can carry on small-scale research studies. If practitioners can team with research specialists to plan studies, acquire additional skills in carrying out studies, report results in ways which make clear the contribution of research to practice, and assist the specialist in accumulating data relevant to long-range studies, the progress will be much more rapid.

A highly pertinent analysis of some of the factors involved in increasing the role of research in adult education is given in a letter by Ronald Lippitt, one of the research leaders in the field.[9]

It seems to me it is important to look at three aspects of the problem of research in adult education:

1. The problems of producing more and better research in adult education.

2. The problem of producing better research workers in the field of adult education, and involving well trained reseach workers to do research in the field of adult education.

3. The problem of getting the large body of past and current relevant research interpreted and utilized by the practitioners in the field of adult education.

Let me start with the first question or problem, that of producing more and better research. Let me give a number of examples of what I think are important and strategic problems to work on at the present time, and then suggest some of the ways by which such research can be accomplished. Here are a few of my research priorities. They are certainly meant to be illustrative, rather than inclusive:

a. Research on the use of human and material resources in adult education process. I would hazard a guess that there is no greater point of inefficiency in adult education today than the inefficient usage of speakers, films and other types of information collection of procedures. I have done enough non-systematic exploration of this area, on such problems, for example, as the training of the group to use the speaker before he arrives, the training of the speaker to meet the needs of the group, discussion with the group as to the best timing of a speaker to meet their informational needs, etc., to be quite certain that some exciting and important research discoveries could be made in this area. I imagine one of the biggest drawbacks to rational problem solving in a democracy is the lack of intelligence we display in locating and using the appropriate courses of information at the time when they are most needed and we are most ready for them. It would certainly be exciting to put a dozen graduate students to work on research problems in this area and to see what could be produced in a year or two.

b. A second crucial area for research is that of dramatizing and personalizing problems which are at a "psychological distance" from the adult learning group. I mean by this that getting any of us really excited and involved in problems of international relations, international peace, national politics, etc., demands first of all that we become motivated about these issues and problems as *our* problems. This means that we must be brought in contact with these problems in quite a different way than is customary in current adult education classes. We need to experiment with a variety of hypotheses concerning ways to make "distant problems" into "my problems" and to connect up problems which lack ego involvement. Research in this area would be very crucial, I think, in connecting up adult education with the practice of active national and international citizenship.

c. A third area of great interest, I believe, is the area of research on behavior change as a result of educational experience. Our program of research here at the

Research center (at the University of Michigan) on change and resistance to change, and research elsewhere indicates more clearly than we have ever seen it before that many educational procedures are quite effective at producing measurable opinion or attitude changes but have absolutely no effect on performance or behavior. We are discovering more clearly than ever before what great inconsistencies children and adults can maintain between their opinions or values and their behavior. Many adult education practices would be changed radically if we could achieve a clear understanding of the difference between educating for behavior change and educating for information or attitude change.

d. Another area for really pioneering research is on the problem of "Stimulating a need to learn." We are seeing a great many clues in the data from many different projects today which indicate that a large proportion of adults look at their own situation in society quite fatalistically and are tending to give up hope that there is anything they can do about themselves or their problems. They need vivid demonstrations of the fact that this is not true to shake them out of their apathy.

e. A somewhat related research problem is that of doing considerable analysis about the psychological meaning of the sponsorship of adult education programs. By that I mean that if three different community agencies all offer the same educational opportunity many people are likely to use one of these resources to reject the same opportunity if it is offered by the other two agencies. This whole question of the most strategic auspices for the sponsorship of adult education opportunities is an important area for good operational research.

f. I'll close my list of half a dozen illustrations with the problem area of research on group participation methods in adult education. Much of adult education at the present time seems to have gotten stuck in the rut that the only alternative to a lecture situation is the "Discussion Method." There has been very little exploration of the many exciting variations in discussion procedure, and even less exploration of the many combinations of discussion and activity methods, such as the action research procedure.

I think there are a number of reasons why so very little research of the type indicated above is being carried out or being planned at the present time:

1. In the first place (as is true also in social work and several other professional fields) the professors who are teaching adult education have not had an opportunity for much training in research methodology as it has developed during the past ten years.

2. The graduate training curriculum is such that few students planning to major in adult education are encouraged to get good social science training in other departments.

3. The well trained research personnel in psychology, social psychology, sociology, etc., have not seen the field of adult education as a field where they could secure research funds for setting up research teams, such as has been the

case in the field of mental health research, research on leadership and morale, research on racial relations, research on child development, etc. Probably the most significant focusing of research energies in the past five years has been the great stimulation of research on problems of mental health because of the modest but carefully planned program of research grants from the National Institute of Mental Health. I believe the selection and organization of the interdisciplinary research study section of scientists to study all project requests and to make grants has been one of the most effective and productive developments in stimulating and maintaining a good flow of productive research.

4. I suppose a fourth important factor is that the adult education practitioners have not been particularly sensitive to the needs for developmental and evaluation research and therefore have not thought to make their facilities available as research settings.

I'm sure other reasons for the low volume of developmental research in adult education could be identified with further analysis, but let me turn instead now to the question of how more good research might be stimulated. I would like to suggest that the following mechanisms ought to all be considered:

a. Project grants to well organized university research teams who are prepared and motivated to devote research energy to the solving of some of the important problems of adult education.

b. The awarding of research fellowships for pre-doctoral or post-doctoral research on specific problems of adult education.

c. Encouraging development of local and state adult education research committees who would have an opportunity to request funds for program evaluation researches, and who might be encouraged to secure the collaboration of well trained research consultants to help them work out operational research designs.

d. Provisions for the actual setting up of adult education demonstration projects for intensive research purposes.

e. Encouraging the research committees of the AEA to plan and propose concrete research activities which they would like to guide and sponsor.

I have already touched on the second major problem which I mentioned in my opening paragraph, that of producing more and better researchers in adult education. I think there are a number of additional possibilities. One possibility would be to give some of the professors who are now teaching adult education at the graduate level an opportunity to get further training and new developments in social research methodology. Special intensive summer institutes might be organized for this purpose in addition to the procedures of taking a semester or a year off. I believe this is becoming quite an acceptable pattern at this time. We are having a larger and larger flow of professional workers applying to spend a semester or a year with us here at the Institute for Social Research just for this type purpose. Another possibility would be to encourage the collaborative de-

velopment of a graduate training program in adult education, with participation by representatives from the departments of psychology, sociology and anthropology, and with some inter-departmental faculty appointments. We are finding that the appointments of our staff members here at the Institute in the schools of education, public health, and business administration are stimulating interest in a broader training experience and a raising of the standards for thesis research projects.

Let me turn briefly now to my third major point, that of stimulating interpretation and actual utilization of research findings in the field of adult education practice. I am reasonably sure that one of the reasons why so little research has been stimulated in adult education is because much of the research which has already been done which is relevant to adult education has not been heard about or has not been seen as relevant. . . . This is true of the other professional fields also. I would certainly like to see . . . a bit of exploring of the possibilities of some research interpretation and research utilization with some samples of adult educators to see what would happen. The institutes (for these adult educators) might also include training in simple procedures of program evaluation with followup consultation where it was needed.

The problem of getting the results of research put to use is one that has concerned educators generally. In Chapter 20 we discuss some of the factors which hold back the development of a comprehensive adult-education program. Effecting changes in practice is a complex matter and involves changes in the behavior of both practitioners and research specialists. S. M. Corey's discussion of this problem is addressed to all educators, but it applies fully to adult education.[10]

One circumstance that helps explain why the scientific method of problem solving did not get into the broad stream of educational practice was its early identification, for reasons that are various, with a much narrower sphere of interest. The method of science was adopted by the *students* of education in contrast with the *practitioners*. The university professors, and the staff members of research bureaus were the ones who spoke and wrote, and who still speak and write, voluminously and persuasively about the science of education. What they write and say makes clear their belief that research, in any basic sense, is not an activity in which amateurs can engage. The standards that are established for "acceptable" research in the textbooks and courses on educational research methodology are high. Those of us who face practical problems in our teaching or supervision or administration are not disposed to think that we can approach these problems "scientifically." Years must be spent in training before anyone is ready to be a scientific educator. A doctoral degree is almost a prerequisite.

At the present time the overwhelming majority of men and women who consider themselves to be educational researchers, believe that it is the professional investigator, the *student* of education, who should be persistent and indefatigable in his scientific study of the problems *that other people must face*. Of the approximately 900 men and women who were affiliated with the American Educational Research Association in 1951, few were practitioners in the sense in which I am using the term. Less than ten percent were supervisors or administrators or principals. The number of elementary or secondary school classroom teachers who were members could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Professors of education and staff members of educational research bureaus of one type or another predominated.

These students of education, not being the ones who must themselves make decisions and take actions about practical school problems, assume a viewpoint toward the purpose of scientific inquiry similar to that of many other social scientists. It is argued that the chief justification for scientific investigations in education is the establishment of generalizations that can be stated as observed uniformities, explanatory principles or scientific laws. Hypotheses are to be tested in such a way as to warrant conclusions extending beyond the populations or situations studied. The interest is in discovering "the truth", or coming as close to it as possible. The practicing school people are then to use this "truth" to improve the quality of education.

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This traditional point of view toward educational research should not be interpreted to imply that those who conduct research are unconcerned about practice. They seem to take the point of view, however, that the discovery and publication of "truth" will, in due course and almost by the nature of things, bring about change for the better. The fact that the professional researcher is rarely, if ever, actively engaged in trying to do something about the problem he is studying is cited as a virtue. If he were concerned about taking practical action as a consequence of his research this might serve to contaminate his data, or his experimental design, or his reputation. As I have said, the assumption is that when people who are exceedingly well trained to investigate educational problems, in contrast with those who must face these problems in ongoing school situations, go about their inquiries scientifically, and when they communicate their findings to practitioners, progress will be inevitable. The role of teachers, supervisors, and administrators is to apply the results of the educational research that they read or hear about. The fact that these applications have been slow in coming does not seem to have caused many professional educational investigators to question their methods.

During the past thirty or forty years this general point of view toward the study of educational problems has resulted in an amazing accumulation of research findings. The library shelves of teacher training institutions are heavy with journals, monographs, and texts which report the studies of the scientific

educational researchers. Each year the major American universities offering the doctorate in education add several hundred new doctoral researches to the published literature. For many years candidates for the Master's degree also were expected to conduct research, but that practice is much less common now.

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Granting that educational research has usually been thought of as the prerogative of students of education, I believe that this conception is a limited one. The method of scientific inquiry certainly has important implications for others than professional investigators. It should, and I believe can, represent a pervasive emphasis in education. The theme of this book is that teachers, supervisors, and administrators would make better decisions and engage in more effective practices if they, too, were able and willing to conduct research as a basis for these decisions and practices. This process is what a number of people have called "action research", and it pertains to attempts by practitioners to study their problems scientifically in order to guide, correct, and evaluate their decisions and actions.

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The school people who engage in action research are not disposed to make any neat distinction between scientific inquiry and educational practice. As has been said, this separation implies that as the researcher reports his findings to the practitioner, the latter will modify his practices to make them correspond with the newly discovered data. There is some evidence, in addition to a great deal of thoughtful speculation about learning which questions the effectiveness of this method of getting knowledge into action. Certainly much of the published information about education resulting from the traditional type of research has had a disappointing effect upon practice. Even those teachers or administrators who hear about or read some of these reports are often slightly if at all influenced by them. Sometimes the individual who conducts the investigation does not himself modify those of his practices that are questioned by his own data. This is painfully evident now and then in the teaching methods of professional researchers who have reported significant data about the learning process.

* * *

Changing Practice Is a Learning Problem

It is almost certain that the difficulty is deeper than communication, and is related to important principles of learning. A teacher is most likely to change his ways of working with pupils when he accumulates and interprets information about these pupils because he wants to work more effectively with them. Reading traditional type of research study conducted by someone else and describing boys and girls in general may help if he happens to read it at a time that enables him to see some relation between the research findings and the instructional problem he is facing. Of one thousand teachers who hear about the results of a

basic study of reading, for example, there are always some who are ready to "use" these results and whose personal experience corroborates them. Having an authority on their side may give the support needed in order to try out some of their own ideas. These changes in practice, however, are more apt to occur if they are a consequence of inquiry in which the teacher has been involved, and are based upon evidence that he has helped to procure and interpret in his attempts to solve an instructional problem that is important to him.

Corey believes, and the authors heartily agree, that there is no dichotomy between action research and research which endeavors to identify principles which have wide applicability. Rightly used, the different approaches supplement each other. The basic point Corey stresses is that the scientific method be more widely used and that we not exclude arbitrarily certain kinds of situations from benefiting from the use of the method.

The adult-education leader who is interested in using research can proceed along the following lines:

1. Identify the places in the program where careful study might help to improve practice.
2. Take steps to record more systematically the relevant information.
3. Analyze the data collected, revise the hypotheses, and repeat the process.

Two kinds of assistance are important. First, the local leader can usually get technical advice on these points from specialists in near-by colleges and universities or in state and federal government bureaus. Second, the leader should encourage the participation of other local persons in the process.

It may help at this point to go back to the report of Lewin's study of changing behavior and note the role of technical assistance. Another illustration of ways of proceeding might be the case of a director who is concerned about the decline in attendance in certain courses or a forum series. He might proceed as follows:

1. Call a meeting of selected staff members and other persons who would be well informed regarding behavior of the drop-outs. This meeting might identify possible factors.
2. Plan ways of gathering facts which would help determine the extent to which the factors identified in (1) are operating. This might involve a questionnaire or an interview schedule, and technical help would be desirable at this point.
3. Analyze the data and reconvene the original group to discuss them. Out of this would usually come some new possibilities which could be studied further.
4. Modify the program in the light of factors which seem to be relevant to see whether taking account of them produces improvement.

One comment might be made regarding the relation of this kind of local action research to research seeking to establish broad principles. Ordinarily, the local leader will not have the controls which permit rigid identification of principles. However, if ten localities were carrying on studies of this kind in cooperation with a university, the university research staff might be able gradually to establish the principles by fitting together the facts from the separate communities. In this kind of cooperation the localities might from time to time be asked to modify their data-gathering plans somewhat in order to get the information needed by a research center.

The adult-education leader who is interested in research will find an abundance of problems in his locality. We close Part III with some illustrations of research concerns submitted by adult-education leaders throughout the nation to a National Education Association Department of Adult Education Committee several years ago. This committee, under the chairmanship of Roben Maaske gathered ideas of needed research from adult-education leaders throughout the country and organized these suggestions under a series of headings which it felt would make them most useful. We limit ourselves here to giving excerpts in order to stimulate the thinking of the reader in relation to his own situation.[11]

Leaders in the field of adult education for some time have felt a need for a greater amount of penetrating information, reliable research data, and factual knowledge relating to various areas in adult education. Such a body of knowledge has been in evidence to undergird future progress and planning in most fields of education, but has been particularly lacking at the adult level.

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It was the thinking of the Committee that a compilation of tentatively formulated research-problem titles in adult education, made available generally to graduate professors, to bureaus of research in universities, to students, and to practitioners and adult education leaders generally, would assist materially in stimulating research studies and projects and would result in the production of data greatly needed for further progress in the field of adult education. It should be pointed out that the research-problem titles in the main, as stated, are only tentative and should be consulted by research students with a view to refinement of sampling, precise limitations, points of emphasis, locale, etc., in any instance, before studies are actually undertaken. It was felt that at least a degree of specificity in stating the suggested research-problem titles would prove more generally useful than lists of generalized questions or comprehensive problems too large and unwieldy in any case to solve.

It may well be that partial answers to some of the problems and questions summarized in this report are already available. There likely are numbers of privately conducted studies as well as masters and doctoral theses which have

received only limited circulation and dissemination. It should be pointed out, also, that some of the research problems suggested represent to a degree "unknowns", the explorations of which are extremely difficult with the inadequate or unsuited, currently available research technics. It is possible in these cases that the solutions will be dependent upon the formulation and utilization of entirely new types of research methods and technics.

* * *

Adult Learning

In this category a considerable number of exhaustive research studies have been done, dating back to the significant, earlier studies by Thorndike. The results have had a marked influence upon encouraging further learning by adults, upon teaching procedures, and other aspects of adult education programs. These highly effective influences demonstrate what could occur in like degree, if research data and results in a similar manner were made available in other categories within the total field of adult education.

1. Comparative analysis of the process of handling intellectual tasks by children, youths, and adults.
2. An analysis of emotional changes in the aging process.
3. Effective rehabilitation in older adults.
4. An investigation of mental rigidity as related to the aging process.
5. Political activity in relation to the demography of old age.
6. The changing nature of leisure in the aging process.

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Audio-visual and Mass Media

With the exception of the work done by the Army most of the research in audio-visual methods has been concentrated at the elementary and high-school level. Are the methods which the schools have found effective for children equally effective for adults? Are there problems in the use of audio-visual materials unique to adult education? Another area that needs investigation is the impact of nontheatrical films, such as the interracial and intercultural films on adult education. From the research done in the field of mass media by magazines, radio networks, and book publishers, it is fairly well known what people read and listen to. However, little is known about the impact of these media of communication upon the audiences for whom they are intended.

1. A comparison of the learning values of various means of presentation of audio-visual materials in selected adult classes.
2. Audio-visual equipment available for use by adult groups in a community, a state, a region.
3. An analysis of the audio-visual materials used in a year by service and other clubs in a representative community.

4. The utilization of films by industry to communicate opinions.
5. A study of the impact on an adult group of such a problem film as "Gentleman's Agreement".

Civic Adult Education

During the period of the WPA Emergency Education Program many communities experimented with forum and discussion patterns designed to increase civic understanding of political, economic, and social issues. The list of problems proposed in this area today shows a considerable shift of interest and a concentration of attention on *how* citizen apathy can be overcome and on how interest, when aroused, can be converted into responsible citizen participation. It is quite clear that adult education leaders are no longer concerned primarily with informational outcomes, but desire to find out how the citizen can be motivated to use the knowledge he had acquired in the diagnosis and solution of civic problems.

1. Further evaluation of the effectiveness of various technics for building civic enlightenment and participation.
2. Adaption and appraisal of the block leader system as a method of involving adults in learning situations.
3. Appraisal of courses in civic education as training for leadership in civic organizations and civic action programs.
4. Survey and evaluation of methods for developing nonpartisan civic interest and activity.
5. A survey of community problems in which adult education has a definite responsibility.
6. A study of the relation between feelings of subject-importance and personal-responsibility in adults.

We hope that we have made clearer the fact that research and evaluation are an integral part of any program. The three aspects of a total program are (1) the administrative—making the decisions, (2) the educative—getting appropriate knowledge available and used, and (3) the research—developing procedures which will ensure that knowledge is expanded. Programs can function for periods of time without deliberate attention to the educative and research aspects, but they will have more vitality and will meet the democratic tests only if these aspects receive full attention.

PART FOUR

Action Responsibilities

In Part I we erected the framework within which we believed adult education for our time must operate. We saw adult-education workers struggling with such issues as the individual versus society and content versus method. We rejected the "versus" and sought a solution by looking at the conditions of our society as a basis for the kind of educational services adults need. Within the limits of this volume we noted four major aspects: (1) the growing interdependence of our economy, both on a national and an international level, (2) the expanding universe of knowledge, (3) the current decline of the part which face-to-face groups play in our life, and (4) the consequent changes for the part played by each of us as a citizen of this new world. We noted that if democracy is to be successful under such conditions, it would be necessary to increase the participation of citizens, to strengthen the face-to-face groups, and to achieve an expanding concept of a community. This develops the pattern for adult education.

In Parts II and III we tried to show something of the adult-education activities underway. We found evidences of strength in the programs of agricultural extension, libraries, schools, universities, workers' education, voluntary agencies, and national and international organizations. We noted advances in the ways in which educators endeavored to accomplish the tasks at hand. In every case we found much sensitivity to new needs and many signs of inventions and adaptations which are indications of healthy growth.

In Part IV we shall attempt to sum up in such a way as to clarify the roles which all of us in adult education need to undertake. We shall identify some of the factors which delay the development of strong services for adults. We shall close with some suggestions about possible next steps.

A LOOK AROUND US

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THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS have given the reader at least some measure of understanding of the variety of activities that go on in the United States in the name of adult education. We have also had occasion to identify some of the problems with which adult education should be concerned. It is now time to make certain that in our preoccupation with the description of specific trees in the forest of adult education we do not ignore the over-all characteristics of the adult-education movement which will give each of us some basis for making his own assessment of current trends and future possibilities. This chapter will concern itself particularly with those elements in the situation which represent obstacles in the way of progress toward the kind of program that is outlined in the next chapter as a possibility for the future.

The Challenges to Adult Education

Harry A. Overstreet, in *The Mature Mind*, points out that in our culture we have idealized adulthood—not maturity. As he says:[1]

. . . We have seen ourselves taking on the obligations of adulthood without achieving a new significance and a new creative happiness in maturity. The

passing of youth, therefore, has seemed to mean a passing into dullness of routine and into the anxieties of a life caught variously in an economic trap. It has not meant for us the entrance into a new dimension of life in which a new and zestful activity of our minds would bring experiences that would more than compensate for the loss of the young years.

Overstreet goes on to suggest that the philosophy and offerings of the adult-education movement which this country has conceived have not been of much assistance in the work of preparing adults for "maturing adulthood." He says:[2]

Adulthood, in brief, is the significant period toward which life heads. It is the time when all the preparings can come to their fruition. Education in the adult years, then, should, by rights, be more than a feeble adding of this course or that to keep the mind busy and reduce its boredom. It should be the kind of education that sets out to do a notable thing: to take us as adults, in this newly arrived time of our life and help us to move beyond the routines of a half-baked adulthood into the creative surprises of an adulthood that is truly maturing.

David E. Lilienthal, in *This I Believe,* sums up the part which this kind of education must play. In his earlier report on the TVA, Lilienthal had said, "Engineers can build us great dams, but only great people make a valley great. *There is no technology of goodness.* Men must make themselves spiritually free."[3] (Italics added.) Lilienthal then served the nation on the Atomic Energy Commission, where the ideas developed in his TVA experience were further expanded. In a chapter written after he left the Commission and entitled "An Informed Public May Control Its Own Destiny," he makes clear the vital place of education as the basis for choices which we as citizens of a democracy must make.[4]

This is a time when we need especially to review how fundamental is public knowledge and public participation in determining our course as a democracy, and our security as a nation. There is no force, however powerful, however firmly entrenched, which can withstand united public opinion.

The core and the essence of democracy is the active participation of the people in governmental affairs. The atom has not changed this proposition. It has indeed heightened its importance. When the people do not participate, when they are uninformed or uninterested, when they cannot or will not make their voices heard or felt, when in short they default, the spirit of democratic action

will soon die, and, indeed, if all this has occurred, already is on its way to extinction. But when the people individually and through their institutions and organizations are active watchmen and participants in the governmental activities of their communities and region and nation, then we have that fertile soil in which democracy flourishes and grows in strength and in fruitfulness.

This democracy of ours is founded upon a faith in the over-all judgment and good sense of the people as a whole. Note that I am not speaking of "majorities," but of "the people as a whole." The magic lies not in the literal arithmetic of majority vote, but in the people's oft-proven sense of what is right and what is fair, that "sense of the meeting" that has at times so profoundly affected the course of American life.

We believe that when the people are honestly and clearly informed their conscience and their common sense can be relied upon to carry the nation safely through any crisis. This is not only our faith; by and large it is the actual practice of our American way of life.

This is not merely a kind of mysticism. As a matter of fact it is a rather hard-headed doctrine. Our experience has taught us that many heads are better than one head, many leaders better than one Leader. We believe in the process of practical testing. We put great store on discussion, on debate, on "chewing things over," on trying to "get the bugs out" of plans by skeptically examining them and probing them.

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It is against such a background of our faith in education—education in its broadest sense as a foundation stone of democracy—that Congress placed in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 a quite remarkable "Declaration of Policy." This Declaration states:

> The effect of the use of atomic energy for civilian purposes upon the social, economic, and political structures of today cannot now be determined. It is a field in which unknown factors are involved. *Therefore, any legislation will necessarily be subject to revision from time to time.* It is reasonable to anticipate, however, that tapping this new source of energy will cause profound changes in our present way of life. (My italics.)

This is a statement almost unique among declarations by governments, for note that it insists, rather proudly in fact, that we do not now have all the answers. A dictator, or the head of a military-dominated nation, could hardly afford to make such an admission; the representatives of a free people can. Congress, reflecting a general mood, approached atomic energy in 1945 and 1946 with the attitude that as a people we can meet these problems and solve them only if we learn more. The frankness of this admission is evidence of our strong confidence in the democratic process even when confronted with a complex technical subject. It is evidence of our faith in the over-all judgment of the people, and of our reliance upon the processes and the techniques of education.

In our several tasks of self-education, we ought to start close to home. We should start with those things about us that we know and can wholly understand. Then our thinking can move outward to the broader reaches of national and world affairs. There is a human tendency to go in for tall talk and generalizations as broad as the horizon. It is no strain to stand around the cracker barrel or the soda fountain and solve world problems or the difficulties of some far-off country, China, say, or India or France. And to speculate vaguely and soulfully on "whither are we drifting" puts only a slight burden on the mind. But it is hard work to make specific plans about the problems of our own home town, our own business, our own region. That is tough and exacting—but it is the starting point, for the strength of America rests upon the strength of individuals, communities, and regions. What goes on in the homes and the communities all through America, and not alone what goes on in Washington or New York or Moscow or London or Berlin, will determine our fate.

The history of our time will be written by what happens in the everyday lives of the men and women we see upon the streets and in the factories and on the farms and in the colleges and city halls and the legislatures and the administrative offices and the business establishments of America. When we have that idea clearly in our minds we will, in my opinion, be far along the road in meeting and overcoming the threat to freedom in the world.

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It is important that the needed facts and the analyses of policies should come from a variety of sources, not from only a few. This variety gives every citizen a chance to check one version against another, and draw his own conclusions. The press, the radio, the various kinds of periodicals, are competent to take the body of knowledge that exists and with their great skills of presentation make any subject reasonably clear and alive for every school child, and every grown-up in America. The colleges and the schools can assemble and boil down the relevant facts about public issues for the use of local civic organizations.

Such help as this from the outside is necessary, and can be very useful, when it comes to an analysis and a discussion of these things. But people should not be content to take ideas just as they have been predigested for them at some distant place. The programs of lay church groups, of the local Chamber of Commerce, the local Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the unions, the Parent-Teachers Association, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and similar organizations, the League of Women Voters, the 4-H Clubs, the County Farm Bureau or Grange or Farmers Union, the local veterans organizations, the business and professional women's organizations, the bar association and county medical society can bring information and different points of view.

The American people, talking these things over in all the neighborhoods of this broad land, can get an understanding of the essentials of the new forces active in the world of today that may make the difference between calamity and

progress. For the Great Consensus, the conscience and the judgment of the people as a whole, is one of the sturdiest pillars of democracy.

This positive faith in our democratic way of life places an especial emphasis upon education. Education is central to the kind of approach that Lilienthal considers necessary. It is recognized that "education" as used here and in similar statements implies provisions for all age groups. Our immediate concern is for the adult part of the total program. We have tried to make clear throughout, however, that the services for adults are integrally in the total community program. Our thesis has been that a strong adult program is crucial to a sound community program and that a broad community approach is essential to a significant adult approach. Adult education is not the final layer on an educational cake.

George S. Counts, in the analysis of *Education and American Civilization*, stresses the need for education. He points out that America has come to the end of an era and is challenged also by the rise of popular despotisms. He concludes the chapter with the following statement:[5]

We must develop an education equal to these great tasks.

That such tasks cannot be accomplished by education alone is of course readily granted. Yet it is equally evident that they will never be accomplished without the assistance which organized education can provide. The time calls for greatness in every department of life. It calls for the highest qualities of character in our leadership and in ourselves as a people. It calls for understanding, for courage, for wisdom, for tolerance and charity on the part of all groups and classes. It calls upon us to display in the waging of peace the resourcefulness, the energy, the steadfastness, the devotion to the common good that enabled us with our valiant associates among the United Nations to wage and win the most terrible and destructive of wars. It calls for a militant faith in democracy and human freedom that surpasses in its power the faith of any totalitarian system. It calls upon us to eschew alike the moods of panic and complacency and to live on a higher plane of understanding and conscience than ever before in our history. All of this means that the present age calls for a great education, for an education liberally and nobly conceived, for an education directed toward the accomplishment of the heavy tasks before us, for an education that expresses boldly and imaginatively the full promise and the full strength of America in her historical and world setting.

Paul L. Essert, in *Creative Leadership for Adult Education*, points out the dual role of leadership in providing an adequate adult education. One of these

roles is that of helping each adult "find a hard core of personal experiences around which . . . [he] can build his own sense of self-realization and have some measure of conscious growth toward maturity."[6] This role is one which educators traditionally have accepted, and it is close to the spirit of our frontier culture. Yet it has never been adequately achieved and is a major challenge to persons concerned with adult education. An unpublished survey of adult education in representative communities stressed the inadequacy of educational opportunities which would enable adults to build the broad foundation which is the measure of individual maturity and of sound group action. We have been too engrossed in what has seemed immediately practical.

The authors of this book, although they recognize the importance of this phase of adult education, have given the greater emphasis to the group aspect for two reasons: (1) They believe that much of the individual self-realization comes out of group situations. (2) As suggested above, the group emphasis in education has received far less attention than the individual aspects.

The authors hope that it is clear that they reject any dichotomy between the individual and the group. Both the person and the group are realities, and both must be dealt with in building the adult education of the future. Essert's stress on "intermittent solitude" strikes an important note in the press of urban life, but in human society solitude is social. The spiritual renaissance that Essert is pleading for requires more than mere withdrawal. We need to recognize it in our group situations. The Quakers' method of communication through silence may be one of the creative rediscoveries of our times.

We quote at some length from Essert's statement of this second responsibility of adult leadership because it indicates the direction in which we believe adult education will move:[7]

A second major responsibility of creative leadership of adult education is to discover or create a wealth of close-at-hand laboratories in which adults can be educated for their unique and changing functions in taking part in group decisions that improve environment. These laboratories are needed to develop, for all adults, continuing opportunity to plan with others actions that have mutual consequences for them at a range close enough so that the participants can assume some responsibility for the consequences of their behavior.

Responsible participation in group decisions is a basic theory of our democracy, as outlined in our Constitution, in the opinions of our courts, and in the development of our institutional life. But, unfortunately, with the growth of industrial civilization and the development of urban centers, the machinery for operation of group planning by those participating has become difficult. The town meeting of a pure democracy was far more than a discussion group; it was an action group. Its members decided, after their discussion, what action should

be taken. It was an evaluation group in which they examined the effects of what had been done. If they voted as a group in one meeting not to build a stockade, they knew that they were to blame when they got together in the next meeting and found a few less present, as a result of an Indian raid. It was not the fault of the governor or of the minister that a mistake had been made in judgment. It was the fault of the group. Today it is difficult for us to find in our society many groups of people that can readily correlate the discussion of a problem with action *and* responsibility for its consequences. We need to find new social and institutional forms in which group responsibility can accompany group decision. We need to invent new ways for every individual to have both the satisfaction and the responsibility of planning action with his neighbors and of assuming the consequences for this action. Responsible participation in community planning will be the creative force of a good society, when neighbors, planning together on matters close to the neighborhood, can learn how to carry out this function in wider and wider areas. The educational processes involved here are teaching the adult how to invent the necessary social forms, and how to use them constructively.

There are some evidences that there is a genuine ferment of group and community planning at the base of our society which most of our institutional leadership has failed to recognize or understand. Perhaps it is actually nothing new, but just seems new to us in the extensiveness and variation of form and circumstance under which it occurs. It does not seem to spring from the drive, zeal, or organization of any party, sect, or creed, since its characteristics are observable among people of widely varying beliefs, creeds, and colors.

The most common characteristic seems to be that people come together for planning, group thinking, and cooperative action because they have finally lost confidence in panaceas and have simply said, "It's up to us." Perhaps this is an outgrowth of the closing of the American frontier. Even though we are in the midst of continued migrations of population, many people are finding that they cannot run away from their problems by moving to new frontiers.

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Creative leadership of adult education challenges the imagination of adults to invent new institutional forms or revitalize existing institutional procedures that will engender and maintain good will, understanding and decency in human relationships. Its responsibilities are both personal and social. These are not, however, separate and distinct responsibilities of creative leadership, nor are they opposites, culminating in opposing theories of the relationship of the institutions to the individual. If we start with the broad motivations of adults in their struggle to grow and mature, we may find criteria that can be used to bring both responsibilities into balanced relationship.

Obstacles to the Development of an Adequate Program

What, then, are the present-day obstacles to the achievement of the kind of national movement of adult education that will meet the challenge described so clearly by these statements from Overstreet, Lilienthal, Counts, and Essert? How can we surmount the roadblocks that now bar our way to the kind of adult education that can add to the life of every man and woman at least some of the elements required for a rich, full, more satisfying, and more abundant adulthood?

Five such roadblocks are identified in this chapter by way of illustration: (1) the inadequacy of present efforts, (2) lack of agreed-upon definitions and ethical commitments, (3) lack of trained personnel, (4) absence of coordinated community planning, and (5) failure to evaluate results.

THE INADEQUACY OF PRESENT EFFORTS. We have pointed out in other chapters of this book that statistically the achievements of adult-education agencies are impressive. In spite of this fact, there are large sections of the population which are not being served and even larger percentages for whom adult-education experiences are sporadic, peripheral, and superficial. It is all very well for an adult educator to say that there are certain ways of behavior which must be learned by every person if he is to live productively in modern American society. But unless the potential learner accepts and agrees with this statement, the prophet becomes only a voice crying in the wilderness. Before a genuine adult-education movement can develop in the United States, the goals of the adult-education movement must be valued by the people who are to participate in it.

In what ways are present programs inadequate? By way of example—and without the intent of making it a "horrible" one—let us take a bird's-eye look at the present status of adult-education programs sponsored by public schools. If the reader agrees, as do the authors of this book, that the basic task of the public schools in every community is the assessment of the total educational needs and the performing of those services which the school is best equipped to provide in meeting these needs, then it must be agreed that in the nation as a whole adults have fared rather poorly.

A 1952 study of adult education in urban American public-school systems conducted by the Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association,[8] reports that 36.5 percent of 888 school systems reporting indicated that no adult-education program sponsored by the public school was offered in their communities. Only 17.0 percent employed a full-time director of adult education. This study was directed only to urban systems; the percentages for all communities would show even less adequate facilities.

In the same study, school administrators were asked to identify the most serious barriers to the development of a more adequate adult-education program in the schools. In order of priority, these barriers were (1) lack of funds, (2) lack of community interest, (3) shortage of qualified teachers, (4) the offerings of

agencies other than the public schools, (5) lack of knowledge of the needs of the community, (6) lack of interest on the part of the board of education, (7) lack of competent directors, and (8) lack of administrative support.

A recent study in the State of New York found that excellence of program in public-school adult education was related to the presence and extent of the following:[9]

1. Awareness by the community of the need for continuous education of adults.
2. Leadership of the school's chief administrative officer, superintendent, or supervising principal.
3. Support from the board of education.
4. State financial support.
5. The ability, energy, and time of the director of the program.
6. Supervisory help from the State Education Department.
7. Recognition of the responsibility of the local community in developing the program.
8. Readiness to work with organized groups.
9. Broad involvement of the community in planning the program.
10. Increasing use of citizens as leaders under adequate staff supervision.
11. In-service training for all persons having responsibilities for activities.
12. Continuous evaluation of what the program is trying to do and how well it is succeeding.
13. Wide range of offerings, "tailor-made" for the locality.
14. Willingness to take the program where the people are.
15. Variety of materials appropriate for adults, pamphlets, films, recordings.
16. Provision for counseling.
17. Flexibility in schedule, time of day, length of period, length of unit.
18. Continuous research at both local and state levels.

There would be few communities in the United States that could score high on all these items.

Generalizations made thus far as to the obstacles to improvement of present efforts in the public schools have been based on data supplied by administrators themselves. Other data might point out the inadequacy of school-sponsored programs even in those communities fortunate enough to have extensive school offerings for adults. For example, there is a strong tendency to conceive of adult education as youth education offered at night, in which the responsibility of the school is discharged by providing a heterogeneous collection of formal course offerings from which the individual may select what he wants. Any subject

wanted by a specified number of people can and probably will be offered. This cafeteria concept of adult education ignores the wide gap between what an individual wants and what he needs. Moreover, the individualized approach, through a sequence of unrelated courses taking the student in no particular direction and being of only moderate help to him in aiding his own personal growth and development, is of questionable value. What is even more important, concentration of time and effort upon the meeting of so-called individual wants and needs limits the effectiveness of the school in its program of service to organized groups in the community. It ignores the fact that in modern society the group has become an increasingly important instrument for social action and that skillful participation in groups either as leaders or members is now a *sine qua non* of responsible participation in community life.

The fact that some communities, such as Schenectady, New York, have been successful in building a service program that reaches more than 400 organizations in that community with consultant help, aids for program planning, leadership training, film distribution, speakers' bureau, and so forth, only highlights the absence of these services in most school-sponsored programs.

If, as this book maintains, adult education is a continuing process through which individuals and groups can be helped to uncover and solve personal and community problems, we must modify our traditional concepts of curriculum and methodology to provide the kind of services and training opportunities that will implement this definition. The concept of learning-action groups is growing in adult education but not rapidly enough to meet the needs of thousands and thousands of citizen organizations in this country which are considering problems demanding solution without getting much help in their efforts from school-sponsored education programs.

What has been said about the extension and improvement of public-school offerings in the field of adult education could be paralleled by examples from other institutional programs. Many of these have been identified in Part II of this book.

Lack of Agreed-upon Definitions and Ethical Commitments. Another roadblock is the lack of any clear-cut agreement as to what adult education is or should be. The problem cannot be discussed without reference also to the absence of commonly accepted ethical principles which guide the movement. There is confusion on these points not only among the practitioners and professionals in adult education but also among those who patronize its programs and among those who do not.

Such group attitudes as "You can't teach an old dog new tricks," "Youth is the time to learn," "Adult education is for people who haven't gone to school," "If I went to school, people would think I didn't know very much," are all too prevalent. Another confusion involves the recognition of the scope of adult education. Patrons and practitioners display a common tendency to define all community

activity and learning as adult education, thus losing sight of the unique task of education. On the other hand, some see it as exclusively that part of learning which is remedial and unrelated to the average citizen's needs. In the latter view education is only peripherally concerned with the mundane but persistent problems of stretching the family budget or coping with the dislocations and disturbances of modern living. As Thomas R. Adam once said, "Adult education must create and organize practical social understanding about such matters as world peace and democracy, if we are to justify our existence—or indeed have any existence at all." Adam went on to say that if we fail the test, the atom bomb and biological warfare are likely to create the next assignment for adult education.[10]

Adult education does have social significance and does have a social function. Its significance and function are derived from basic principles which are at the very root of the democratic tradition. The men and women who founded the United States and those who carried on the ideals to which it was committed at birth knew that, since they had created a system of self-government in which institutions were to be for man's good and hence subject to change and modification as man's needs changed, major reliance would have to be placed upon education as the instrument with which social change could be controlled in the interest of the common good. In today's changing and dynamic world, with its many complex personal and social problems, the only way in which man can participate in improving his life and controlling his environment is by utilizing his trained intelligence. The knowledges and skills needed for today's world cannot be provided by systems of formal education for childhood and adolescence. Lifelong learning becomes essential for the survival of the American system of government. The vitality of that system depends upon the quantity and quality of participation in what we call community life. Only in those programs of adult education in which there is full respect for human personality, in which shared judgments are valued and sought, in which the highest gains are those which bring better relations among all persons, will there be the kind of freedom that is necessary to overcome the obstacles that now stand in our path.

Within this context, teachers and practitioners of adult education have an ethical commitment to utilize those processes which will lead to individual growth and to avoid those antidemocratic influences which would demoralize and pervert the democratic process to selfish and antisocial ends. The recurring spectacle in our time of pressure groups which employ "education" as an instrument to disseminate false information in an atmosphere of prejudice and intolerance, utilizing techniques of scapegoating, rabble-rousing and witch-hunting, should be enough to convince every educator that the moment is already past due for a reaffirmation and restatement of the ethical principles that must guide our efforts.

Lack of Trained Personnel. A serious block to the rapid growth and development of adult education in the United States today is that presented by the lack of adequately trained people and the absence of professional standards to

guide their professional behavior. Except for isolated instances, little has been done thus far in providing effective leadership training. As we have seen in Chapter 17, only a handful of universities have concerned themselves with the great need for preservice and in-service training of adult-education teachers, leaders, and administrators. The hundreds of thousands of volunteer lay leaders throughout the country constitute a resource whose potential usefulness and social contribution is unnecessarily and wastefully limited by our failure to provide the kind of training opportunities which are required.

Absence of Coordinated Community Planning. One of the major obstacles to the development of a more adequate program of adult education is the widespread absence of anything like a cooperative or collaborative approach at the community level in the identification of local needs and in the development of local resources. In most communities, the activities of those in adult education are dispersed and diffused because of this lack of organization and cohesion. The importance of adult education to individuals and to the community is often obscured by the very multiplicity of activities and the absence of any unifying thread or coordinating influence.

Often this fragmentation of community life is aided and abetted by the influences of national organizations and federal government agencies. As the University of New Mexico discovered in its work with the people of Taos County, one of the first tasks the citizens' committees had to undertake in their effort to approach the solution of county problems cooperatively was to bring together the representatives of a wide range of government bureaus and departments, all of whom were working to help the people of the county, but in separate and unrelated ways. In many communities, institutional "sacred cows" have been allowed to block the way toward a higher level of community coordination, in which groups and agencies will plan and work together in self-help activities.

As has been pointed out elsewhere in this book, there are bright and shining exceptions to this criticism. The work of Jean and Jess Ogden in Virginia, of Baker Brownell and Richard Poston in Montana, of the New York State's Citizens' Council, are all examples of a movement to develop a kind of adult education in which there is widely shared leadership responsibility and major reliance on the development of problem-solving skills.

As has been pointed out in Chapter 13, the operation of a community program of adult education is likely to be most successful if the needs of the community and the kinds of programs required are identified cooperatively by representative leaders of the whole community. The task to be undertaken in most communities of this nation is much too great for any one agency to accomplish alone, and, even if this were possible in terms of adequacy of resources available, the responsibility for planning and assessing community needs should be spread as widely as possible.

Adult-education or community councils, or citizens' committees of one type or another, are useful instruments for achieving a higher level of community co-operation and planning, but their effectiveness is in direct proportion to the quantity and quality of citizen participation which they enlist.

FAILURE TO EVALUATE RESULTS. There is, finally, the inadequacy of most efforts in adult education to evaluate accurately and effectively the degree to which goals and objectives have been achieved. This point is obviously closely related to the need for a definition of the role of adult education. Unless we know where we are going and what we are trying to accomplish, no design for measurement and evaluation of results can possibly be formulated. Perhaps the best way to illustrate this lack is by posing a series of questions to which adult-education practitioners must have answers for their own communities and their own programs before evaluation can take place:

1. What is our community? To what extent is it a community? What can be done to make it more of a functioning community rather than just a geographical area?
   a. Actual evidence of operating together.
   b. Awareness of the need for common action.
   c. Channels of communication.
2. Is the community enjoying the maximum standard of living possible with available economic and human resources?
3. Do all the members of this community enjoy living in it?
4. Do young people growing up in the community desire to stay? What percentage do? What percentage could find a place? How can we help persons decide?
5. Do all persons living in the community feel wanted and necessary? What differences are there in terms of different age levels, sexes, religious and ethnic groups, and status classes?
6. Is there a mutually cooperative relation between the community and its regions? Are local problems seen and studied in relation to state, regional, national, and international developments?
7. Is there a basis for increasing community effectiveness in the next decade?
8. To what extent are the major educational problems of the community defined?
9. Is the community
   a. acquainted with educational resources—inside, outside?
   b. making full use of these?
10. Is education seen as a way helping to meet the life needs of learners, with needs defined in reference to democratic values and growth potentials?
11. Does the community seek educational help in meeting its problems?
12. Is emphasis given to the use of intelligence in decision-making?

13. Are there opportunities for *all* (all ages, races, colors, creeds, etc.) to learn what they need when they need it under conditions (methods, places, administrative regulations, etc.) appropriate to the needs?

14. Is there participation by all members of the community in the development of educational policy, with appropriate consideration given to special abilities and responsibilities?

15. To what extent are the members of the library, school, and other staffs recognized and used as special resource persons?

16. Is there continuous evaluation of the educational activities in terms of changes in the quality of living for all in the community?

17. Is there exemplification by the educational group of all those qualities stressed as important in total community action?

18. Are the educational activities contributing to the maximum development of a world view commensurate with world needs?

These are some of the obstacles to greater utilization of our educational resources in today's priority task of making democracy work. There are other problems, some of them perhaps of equal importance with those listed here. Suffice it to emphasize here that leaders in adult education in the United States are not and should not be self-satisfied over past accomplishments or complacent as to the future which lies beyond our short-range tasks. These and other problems will be worked out—slowly, perhaps, and with many compromises and discouragements—and progress will be made toward achieving that system of universal education which alone can make possible "wise leadership of the wise" as the working pattern of what our enemies have called "degenerate democracy." Some of the possibilities which can be visualized for that longer view of the years ahead are described in the next chapter of this book.

A LOOK AHEAD

21

WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

This simple, straightforward statement, made more than one and one-half centuries ago by citizens establishing a new nation, still thrills us with its significance. In place of an economy chiefly agrarian, with self-contained groups and often self-contained families, we now have an industrial colossus, interdependent with all lands. The men who wrote the preamble to our Constitution would be dazed by our gadgets and our devices, by the range of materials constantly available to us, but their words, " . . . secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" still express the central task. Do we understand it as well as they did?

Education is not mentioned in the preamble or elsewhere in the Constitution. Yet its role in helping to achieve the purpose set forth in the statement is clear. Jefferson saw it as crucial in establishing and maintaining the "natural" aristocracy of talent against "pseudo" aristocracy of wealth and special privilege. In the preceding chapter we quoted from several authors regarding both the necessity

and the possibility of education—an education which will give full place to provisions for adults to get help when and where it is needed. We also noted some of the difficulties which will have to be overcome in developing this kind of education. To do this educational job we have the resources of a great nation. We have material wealth; we have a great heritage of freedom; we have skill in government; we have a great moral tradition. In the analysis from which we quoted in the preceding chapter, George S. Counts has reviewed these resources:[1]

As a forest draping slope and stream is more than timber for the mill, as a river winding among the hills is more than power for industry, as a mountain range pushing its snowy peaks into the clouds is more than ore for the smelting furnace, as an orchard in blossom in the springtime is more than fruit for the cannery in the autumn, or as a field of ripened wheat waving and billowing in the breeze is more than grain for the oven; so this land with its "rocks and rills," its "woods and templed hills," is more than the source of our livelihood. It is our home, our dwelling place forever—the place where we are born and grow up, where we live and love, work and play, grow old and die. And it was a beautiful place as it came from the hand of nature—beautiful in the grandeur and majesty of its great distances and proportions, in the contours and settings of its brooks and rivers, its ponds, lakes, and seas, in the lines and shades of its valleys, hills and mountains, in the rhythms of its calms and storms, of its days and seasons. Fortunate indeed were the people who crossed the oceans to possess it.

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This favored land has left its mark on us and our institutions.

Above all it provided almost ideal conditions for our great experiment in popular rule and human freedom. After the achievement of independence and the consolidation of the several colonies into a single state, America occupied for generations a uniquely sheltered position among the nations, far removed from the quarrels, the wars, and the aggressions of the Old World. The expanse of oceans on either side gave to our people a sense of security and a guaranty of relatively peaceful development. Safe behind her powerful natural ramparts, America was almost a world by herself—a great fortress for common people set in the western seas and guarded by their waters—a "city of refuge" to which the hunted and the persecuted might repair. "The Americans," said Tocqueville, "have no neighbors, and consequently they have no great wars." They were allowed, therefore, to escape the burden of a great military establishment and that most formidable scourge of republics—military glory.

It was this rich land, administered under relatively just laws and free institutions, that, like a powerful magnet, drew the peoples of the earth to our shores and then beckoned them onward by ever brighter prospects toward the western sun. But it did far more than attract them. It helped to develop in them new traits

—traits which have come to be regarded as American. On arriving the immigrant begins to slough off the limited outlook of the Old World. As Crevecoeur observed, "he very suddenly alters his scale; two hundred miles formerly appeared a very great distance, it is now but a trifle; he no sooner breathes our air than he forms schemes, and embarks in designs he never would have thought of in his own country."

A Way of Life

In this bountiful land which Counts described grew a nation with its own peculiar characteristics. A part of Western industrial civilization, the United States has developed variations within the great theme. This special melody is complex, and observers, both native and foreign, have never agreed on all the details. Counts, in the same volume, has outlined some of the characteristics of our way of living and what they mean for education. The possibilities for adult education, as well as the challenge, if adults are to move forward along the lines indicated, are breathtaking.[2]

The Resources for a Great Education

We have the material and institutional resources necessary for building a great education.

In the development of a program . . . [of education] we are limited only by our powers of conception and resolution. We possess in unprecedented abundance the resources of material wealth and educational institutions. We are in a position in the generation now unfolding to realize the finest dreams of the great teachers and prophets of the Western World from Socrates and Jesus to Jefferson and John Dewey. No longer can any proposal be rejected on the grounds that it is Utopian, that it is theoretically desirable but practically impossible, that it is beyond our means. For the first time in history . . . all the people can be provided with the optimum conditions for growth and the achievement of every form of excellence.

First of all, we possess the material resources. The new vistas of power derived from the advance of science and technology make clearly possible a greatly enriched and expanded educational program. If the toiling farmers of a century ago could find the means to carry the "district school" across the continent, we should be able to give to our children every good thing of body, mind, and heart. As never before, we hold in our hands the material resources essential to launch and maintain an educational program equal to our democratic professions and our social needs. Genuine equality of educational opportunity at an unprecedentedly high level for all . . . regardless of family, race, or creed, is easily feasible. Indeed,

as we have observed in an earlier chapter, the development of power-production of material goods is so changing the general pattern of our economy that we will be compelled to divert our energies increasingly to the supplying of services. Of these, education is probably the greatest and most productive of human welfare. Moreover, unlike the resources of physical nature, of soil, forests, and minerals, the resources of human nature may be improved and increased indefinitely by wise use and cultivation.

Secondly, we possess the institutional resources. To take full advantage of these resources, however, requires a radical reconstruction of our conception of the educational undertaking. Changes in the social order have greatly altered the processes and agencies of education. . . .

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The family, the church, and the local neighborhood must of course still be recognized as educational agencies of great significance. Studies show that the family, in spite of the loss of many functions, probably remains the most powerful single influence in the life of the young. Having almost complete control over the individual during his first six years, the period of greatest plasticity, it molds to an astonishing degree both his character and his powers. The enrichment of the cultural possessions and the improvement of the personal qualities of parents should be a major concern of all who are interested in education. The schools receive from the homes of America millions of little boys and girls dwarfed and crippled by the defective or perverted ministrations of well-meaning parents. The church enrolls today as large a proportion of the children and youth of the nation as ever before in our history. Its responsibilities, therefore, in the education of the young, particularly in the sphere of its special interest, in the shaping of moral traits, are of the first order. It is to be hoped that the various denominations will direct their resources to the softening of sectarian prejudices and the cultivation of a generous and humane spirit. The local neighborhood, like the family, continues to provide in country, town, and city, through its unorganized life and its intimate face-to-face relationships, the basic and elemental experience on which all education must rest.

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In the old and new forms of communication we have educational institutions of almost unimagined possibilities. These are the agencies on which we largely depend for knowledge about the world we live in, both past and present. . . . While the products of the press have long been closely identified with the processes of formal education, the moving picture and the radio are still largely neglected. . . . All of these new forms of communication are almost miraculously adapted to the educational needs of this age. Through them ideas and attitudes can often be conveyed far more effectively and powerfully than by the printed page or by oral presentation. . . .

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The voluntary organization, so characteristic of industrial society, is an educational agency of great power. It has been said by an eminent political scientist that the labor union should be ranked with the university as one of the major cultural institutions of the nation. The organizations of farmers, businessmen, professional workers, and consumers, of political parties and religious sects, of civic and welfare interests, and a thousand and one other groups are increasingly molding the minds of our people. . . . A major purpose of all education in this field should be the development . . . of a readiness to subordinate the narrow interest of the part to the broad interest of the whole. The survival of democracy may rest on our success in achieving this goal.

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We have the resources of professional knowledge necessary for building a great education.

Since ancient times many of the best minds of all advanced nations have recognized the importance of education and have sought to understand the . . . process. . . . In recent generations our knowledge of this process has advanced immeasurably. With the establishment of great systems of education throughout the world, the methods of science and scholarship, of experimentation and objective inquiry, have been applied with increasing energy to the problems and tasks of education. Systematic study of the institutions and achievements of other countries and peoples, from primitive tribes to great industrial societies, has added to our understanding. Although much remains to be learned, our knowledge today goes far beyond our practice. We possess the material and institutional resources to put this knowledge to work.

We have reason for believing today that man is more educable than was generally thought to be the case a few generations ago. . . .

Investigation has shown . . . that the individual does not abruptly and inevitably lose his mental plasticity and ability to learn on his eighteenth or twenty-first birthday. On the contrary, he seems to be able to retain these powers in amazing degree until the onset of old age. He is therefore admirably equipped in his biological inheritance to live in the strange civilization now spreading over the earth. Because of the complexity, the scope, and the dynamic quality of industrial society, the need for education, for acquiring new powers, for making adjustments to novel situations continues through practically the whole of life. The current interest in adult education is a logical and intelligent response to this condition. The necessity for a bold, rapid, and imaginative development here is obvious. The old, as well as the young, must be encouraged to learn new ways, to think new thoughts, to acquire new interests, and to formulate new purposes. The very survival of our democracy may well depend on our success in liquidating our "illiteracy" with respect to the nature of industrial civilization—its basic structure, its imperatives, its dynamics, and its potentialities. . . .

° ° °

We have the moral and spiritual resources for building a great education.

We possess the resources of wealth, institutions, and professional knowledge necessary to support and conduct an educational program suited to these times. But those resources in themselves, though indispensable, are not enough. They merely provide the tools and materials and canvas with which the picture may be painted. A great education requires something more than wealth, institutions, and professional knowledge. It must also be guided by a great and noble purpose, by a great and noble conception of life and civilization. For us in America such a conception should embrace the best in our heritage, confront the revolutionary forces and conditions of the present, and take into account the vast technical potentialities of the industrial age. This, and this alone, will give to our education its distinctive quality. . . .

If we have the courage and imagination, we can reconstitute the promise of America on a scale far grander than that of its earlier form. It rested yesterday on the material foundation of a fabulously rich land that seemed to extend almost without limit toward the west. It must rest today and tomorrow on the material foundation of a fabulously productive industrial economy that may reach with ever-increasing power into the future. Its achievement yesterday was primarily a responsibility of individual, family, and neighborhood effort. Its achievement today and tomorrow, because of the close and far-flung interdependence of life, must be conceived largely in social and even national terms. Its benefits yesterday were fully shared only by certain favorably situated elements of the population. Its benefits today and tomorrow must be shared progressively by all of us, regardless of race, family, religion, or nationality. Its purposes yesterday were largely economic and political in character. Its purposes today and tomorrow must embrace more fully all of our great moral and value commitments. Its horizons yesterday were generally confined by our national boundaries. Its horizons today and tomorrow must extend to the farthest corners of the earth.

Such a conception of the promise of America should evoke to the full the energies of our people. Particularly should it give meaning to the lives of the young and provide the long-sought moral equivalent of war. . . . Indeed, the power of the totalitarian movements in our times derives largely from a stirring call to heroic action. To receive from his elders a conception of life that will demand his fullest efforts and finest qualities should be the birthright of every American child.

We sum up, very briefly, the main characteristics of the education for adults which we believe is emerging for us. It will be an education for all persons. Its focus will be the face-to-face group and the local community, effectively related to successively larger action groups. The content of this education will be the

whole range of human experiences. The role of learner and teacher will often interchange; all of us will have our opportunities to volunteer.

The Adult Education Association's Committee on Social Philosophy and Direction Finding has stated the principles in materials which are being used by the Association to build a platform in which there has been the widest possible participation:[3]

PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GUIDE THE AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT

1. The focus of adult education is the *local community*. Adult citizens meeting together in face-to-face groups for the purpose of exchanging knowledge and experience constitutes the sociological nexus of adult education.
2. Citizenship in the modern world is, however, incomplete and fractional unless the participating citizen realizes that he lives in an *expanding environment*, and that he cannot cope successfully with his local problems unless these are viewed in the light of regional, national and world perspectives.
3. Adult education, in order to become culturally valid, must conform with the ideological traditions and aspirations of the society of which it is a function. For the United States this clearly implies that adult education should be an exemplification of *democratic goals and methods*.
4. Since adult education is conceived as an instrument for human problem-solving, it seems reasonable to assume that it should be guided by the truth-seeking disciplines of *scientific methods*.
5. *Social action* on behalf of reasoned social change is the functional raison d'etre of a modern adult education movement. Mere extension of personal knowledge on the part of individual adults does not constitute an adult education movement.
6. But those who assume responsibility for social change also and thereby accept a *moral obligation*. Each step in alteration of current practices should be accompanied by a rigorous examination of its ethical meaning.
7. Although adult education as conceived in modern times is based upon social goals and utilizes social methods, it is also to be affirmed that adult education, like all genuine education, is founded upon the belief in the *individual* as the ultimate seat of responsibility, integrity and worth.

1

The point of focus of all adult education must be the community. While the ultimate objective may be the maturing of human personality, the human personality exists somewhere, not everywhere, and that point of existence for adult education is in the community. The community is a collection of people and the institutions and environment which they have created and use in com-

mon. The relation of all the adults of the community to each other, to their institutions and environment, creates and gives rise to the problems with which a community program of adult education should be initially and primarily concerned. The people will solve these problems in other ways than educational: e.g., resignation, force or manipulation and exploitation of each other. The educational process is more difficult and must be learned and has relatively little effect when only a few individuals of the community understand it. Adult education must, therefore, be concerned with the growth of understanding of all the people of the entire community, not only in relation to the personal and private welfare of isolated individuals, but in relation to the use of the educational process of solving problems by the community as a whole. Until this lesson is learned by adults in their immediate communities, they are as ill-equipped to deal with the problems of a large and more remote environment as a merchant several times bankrupt in operating a neighborhood grocery store is to manage a chain store system.

2

The expanding environment of everyone's life calls for thinking of the community as a larger and larger place. Adult education must arouse interest in the whole community and in seeing its problems. Opportunity must be provided for practice by adults of educational activities which will include consideration of the whole world. Living together is the basis of any program for man, and interdependence in economic as well as political affairs is implicit in living together effectively and permanently. Scientific discovery of communication and transportation methods have made the interdependence complete. The job and the opportunity of the adult education movement in America is to take the lead in education first of ourselves, and then others by example, so that this new condition to living together effectively and happily may be met.

3

An adult education movement suitable for the contemporary needs of the American people should be deeply rooted in the democratic tradition. This implies that its content, its methods and its goals should be so conceived as to constitute a genuine extension and application of democratic values.

Questions raised by this principle:

a. In what manner are difficulties and conflicts likely to arise with respect to democratic principles of organization and control for adult education? Is there a democratic principle of organization which needs to be formulated?

b. What democratic values are especially relevant to education in general and to adult education in particular?

c. From what sources should adult educators draw the resource material for democratic content or subject matter?

d. In what sense do the classical democratic principles or values impose responsibilities upon adult education organizers and teachers? (Liberty, equality and fraternity, e.g.?)

e. In what sense do the more modern or empirical democratic principles impose responsibilities upon adult education organizers and teachers? (Such as the principle of diversity, the principle of compatability between means and ends, the partial operation of ideals, etc.?)

4

The developments of science which have brought this modern age have also produced the means by which man has been able increasingly to become master of his own destiny. Not only have the opportunities and facilities for better living been greatly increased, but also the method of solving problems has been constantly perfected. Science flourishes only when it is free, and it becomes useful when it is applied to the problems of people and when it has the support and guidance of people in its efforts and in its fruition. These are its three fundamental relationships to democracy: first, the atmosphere of freedom within which it can be unhampered in its results; second, the moral and financial backing of the people in its research; and third, the commitment of people to the acceptance of scientific facts and the determination of policy in the use of these facts in the solution of problems. Herein lies one of the basic problems of the present day which adult education seeks to meet through raising the level of understanding of people of this great instrument for the improvement and enrichment of living and of their responsibility for the use of this instrument to lessen the lag between the material products of science and the social adjustment to these changes.

The lag in social change is due not to the limitations of the social sciences, though the developments in this area of science must be speeded up, but to the unreadiness of people to use the social sciences to meet the problems of our changing world.

We are committed to the scientific approach to all areas of human problems: the gathering of essential facts, the use of scientific techniques of analysis, the applications of the accumulating knowledge in the social sciences, and the cooperative working out of solutions based on democratically determined policy and the discussion of the people.

The attainment of scientific attitudes and methods in all areas of living is a vital part of democracy and an objective of adult education.

5

Effective democratic citizenship cannot be learned by precept alone. Nor is the good society achieved by a statement of principles. Attitudes, insights, understandings, patterns of behavior and effective techniques come chiefly through experience. Some of the best adult education will therefore take place in the

midst of action toward ends conceived in a vigorous interplay of active minds working in practical social situations. Democracy must be won in the midst of an unceasing struggle against ignorance, superstition, inequity, injustice and waste. New social structures and patterns of social behavior must be developed in the midst of the ordinary routines of life. Adult education must accept responsibility for helping people to come together in effective group relationships, to analyze and face their common problems, to set their goals, and to develop effective working relationships with each other and with the agencies of society and government they would influence or reshape.

6

Moral values are the values by which men live, the ideals for whose sake they find life worth living. The purpose of adult education is to enrich life, to make it more worthwhile—in other words, to find those values that can make our lives meaningful.

Since adult education cannot be separated from the values which are reflected in its activities, the Adult Education Association must concern itself in the objectives of adult education, as well as in its organization and operation. Although we have gone a long way in mastering technical skills, we have learned little about intergroup relations, and to become proficient in this area, therefore, becomes a major concern of adult educators today. Adult education, to become vital, must grow out of real issues, and must lead to new patterns of behavior. These must necessarily reflect not only respect for the interests and well being of all members of our society, but, also, the importance of releasing the fullest contribution to society by the members of the group. It therefore becomes the function of adult education to train our citizens in how to combat prejudice, in an understanding of the relation of the local to the international scene, etc.

a. The individual exists only in relation to the group of which he is a part.

b. Successful adult education is reflected in the ability of the group leader to inspire or inculcate integrity.

c. The evaluation of adult education must be made in terms of its objectives, as well as in terms of the spread of participation, or of its organization, or its content.

d. The AEA must concern itself with and take stand on public questions—both local and national—and the process of making decisions which involve a consideration of moral values is an important process of adult education.

7

In a world which is growing steadily more anonymous, we affirm our faith in the human person. All action rests ultimately upon the decisions of individuals. We reject any dichotomy between the individual and the group. They are complementary in nature. Through effective groups, the person achieves his

full personality; through the dynamic interaction of the contributions of members, the group achieves a product far greater than the sum of individual abilities.

Adult education has the task of achieving the full power of individual capacities. Regardless of what their ratings may be on separate ability scales, we believe it is possible to make each person a member of one or more groups in a way that the world becomes richer for his part. In the warmth of such an educational setting, each individual flowers to the fullness of his abilities and becomes in truth a personality. Adult education can help each individual to discover the peculiar abilities he may have, to be sensitive to the needs and abilities of others and to learn how mutually to fit all of these into a working pattern.

With the great resources of our nation and with the faith outlined above, we can create a great education—an education for all, but with new recognition of the role of adults as learners. We have thus far done little with a creative approach to learners who are adults. The picture of what an education can be when we give full weight to the kind of learnings possible by mature individuals is described by Harry A. Overstreet:[4]

Imagine a community in which practically all the adults came to a realization of their unfulfilled adulthood. (This indeed requires a high order of imagination!) Imagine the adults in that community agreeing that their adult years should be devoted, as far as other obligations make possible, to maturing their adulthood; to making it a triumph of new significance instead of an apologetic dullness.

What, they would ask themselves, do adults need to know and do in order to make their adulthood come fully alive? Again, we are only conjecturing; but certain agreements might conceivably be reached.

In the first place, they might agree, adults, having advanced beyond childhood and adolescence, need now to see themselves *with the eyes of maturity*. For the first time in their lives, they possess these grown-up eyes. They need, therefore, to look at themselves and maturely appraise themselves.

This might be accepted as their first adult project. We can imagine them asking experts to come and open up to them the new knowledge about the human mind and character that has been brought to us: psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, anthropologists, sociologists. They would not speak of this as a "course" in psychology, but rather as their adult attempt at *Self-understanding*. They would be making their Socratic beginning: *Know thyself*. It would be immaterial to them whether the expert came from one or another specialized department of learning. All of them together—experts and adults—would be concentrating upon the central issue: *the mature understanding of themselves*.

It is tragic to think that nothing like this takes place in the world today. Nowhere are adults, in sizable numbers and in a community of relationship, *seeking to understand themselves.* Nowhere are the transformative insights of psychological and social research being passed over into lives where they might function. Our culture goes on burying its psychological gold in the Fort Knoxes of specialized scholarship. The group of adults we are imagining would, however, be daring enough to get this gold into circulation.

They would see a second thing they needed to do. Now for the first time they could look back upon their lives and make an appraisal of the ways in which they had been nurtured and educated. With their new self-understanding they could begin to estimate the good or the bad, the wisdom or the folly, of what had been done to them in home, school, college and elsewhere. They would therefore be in a position to judge, with a new wisdom, how all young lives should properly be brought up.

What, they would now ask themselves, should education in the young years be? In seeking the answer to that question, they would be preparing themselves for a wise partnership in bringing up young life in home, school, college, and elsewhere. They would gain an expertness of view in a realm where now adults are mostly ignorant, mostly tenacious of old habits and practices, and too often intolerant of change.

They would want to do a third thing. Realizing from their new psychological insights how profoundly environments influence individual life, they would want to make research into the particular environment that was shaping—perhaps in many ways, misshaping—their own lives, the lives of their children, and the lives of their fellows. They would want to get a frank and intelligent look at their community. They would want to move about their community prepared to estimate what it did to the people who lived in it, and what it needed to do. They would want, then, to make the difficult approach to the wider world—of the nation, and of the many nations and peoples. They would want to lift themselves out of the illusions and miscomprehensions of their newspaper-made minds and learn something of what lies behind the clutter of unrelated headlines. This would be a notable project. Grounded, by now, in a certain measure of self-understanding and community-understanding, they would no longer see their world as merely one of outer happenings. They would be psychological enough to see their world in its inner motivation—its ambitions and struggles for power; its fumbling efforts at justice and liberation. In short, they would see national and world events, both in their confusion and their clarity, as the inner life of men finding its outer expression.

Finally, they would want to make themselves at home in the great human tradition. They are heirs to that tradition. For the most part, however, because of the prevailing poverty of educational insights and methods—not to speak of lack of time in the school and college years—they will have learned little of what

their forefathers willed to them: philosophy, science, religion, poetry, drama, story, heroic acts, brilliant inventions, defeats that were victories. A lifetime would not be long enough for them to take over and put into use this full rich inheritance; but their adult lifetime might well be spent in moving into this inheritance of the spirit.

What We Can Do

The great education which we can have will not come automatically or without effort. In Chapter 20, we pointed to certain difficulties that must be overcome. The support for the forward push to do this must enlist all educators and all friends of education. The pervasiveness of the activities described in this volume should make clear the share which each of us has in achieving broader educational provisions for adults everywhere.

To try to blueprint the action for each reader would belie the basic principles we have been stressing. There are some possibilities, however, that each of us may consider.

1. We can associate ourselves with like-minded persons in our locality.
2. We can make a study of adult-education activities now operating which should receive general public support and take steps to ensure such support.
3. We can help to identify unmet needs.
4. We can work toward community-wide planning.
5. We can join the local, state, and national adult-education organizations.

Paul L. Essert and Coolie Verner have summed up what this means as they see it after reviewing the activities of the Institute of Adult Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, in promoting active adult citizenship.[5]

The Future Responsibilities of Adult Education

The men who bore the responsibility for leadership in the founding of our nation had utmost confidence in the continuing ability of people to make wise decisions in matters of government. In expressing this concept Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

These architects of the new nation laid squarely upon the shoulders of each generation the responsibility for determining the kind of world in which it chose to live. Through the years the citizens of this nation have not always been good

stewards. Not only have the people been entrusted with fewer of the "ultimate powers of the society"; they have not "informed their discretion by education."

Adult education seeks now the methods and techniques whereby the masses of the people can be educated to reshoulder the responsibilities of self-determination. This does not imply that such education is not taking place. Individuals and groups in all parts of the nation are constantly engaging in educational activities leading to better civic participation. This, however, is too scattered and disorganized to fulfill the tremendous need for more extensive and widespread citizenship educational activities. Upon the educator falls the responsibility of developing the processes for broadened dissemination of methodology leading to universal participation.

It appears, then, that to achieve an understanding of the process of citizenship education, research and experimentation must involve three major areas: (1) the individual in his personal group, (2) individual and personal group relationships to social institutions, and (3) the individual, personal group, and social institutional interinvolvement in the total community structure.

We close with the determined words of Malcolm S. MacLean. This quotation is based on a comprehensive analysis of *Learning to Live with Atomic Energy*. He concludes his study with a series of concepts which he believes will underly the education that is essential if we are to succeed in living in an atomic era. We have modified his wording slightly to relate it more directly to adult education:[6]

What are the tasks that lie ahead for education, tasks that demand the understanding, support and leadership of all citizens? They seem to me to involve the following major concepts:

1. We must stop dead in their tracks all attempts to throttle and hamstring the enlightenment of our children and ourselves. They and we can manage present and future affairs by extending, not by restricting, our learning. We are most stupid, frightened and bumbling when we are most ignorant. Therefore, we must keep sharp watch upon, and go into united action against, those who would have us return to the materials and methods by which we and our forefathers were schooled. Because of the weaknesses in that schooling we have not yet learned to live effectively with steam and electric power.

2. We must view efforts by ourselves, our neighbors or our political representatives to restrict or prohibit discussion of controversial issues . . . as especially perilous. Blackout curtains at home are as dangerous as "Iron curtains" abroad. To ban controversy, anywhere at any time . . . is to clamp tourniquets upon the arteries carrying the lifeblood of democracy. Seen clearly, I think, there is no

issue so finally set in absolute truth as to be rid for long of questioning, and no issue so "controversial" as to make it more hazardous to pose it for discussion than to ban it from discussion. It is surely only the mentally sick who think they have both the *final* answers and *all* the answers which can be taught as dogma to all the children of all the people of our country and the world.

3. We must, however, do more than fight off those partial lunatics who would "return to the good old days" in education and those who would put blinders on our people and feed them dogma and absolutes. That creates rigidity when what we must teach is adaptability. Instead of setting minds in old patterns we must make them lithe and flexible. Germany, Italy and Japan, by rigid patterns, educated their citizens for the fixity of death, in their world of steam, electric and chemical power. I think we can and must, by concentrating the growing knowledge of all our resources upon it, educate our people and all the people of our expanded world to learn to live by and with the ever changing instruments of atomic power.

4. This means that we must educate them in the principles and practices of democracy as effectively as the people of our three late enemies and one of our allies were indoctrinated in those of totalitarianism. We must teach them to become citizens of the world as we have twice taught millions of them to become world soldiers. We must, to avoid war and to learn the ways of peaceful problem solving, train them to reduce sharply the amount of fighting over issues and increase their skills in cooperative attacks upon problems in order that their capacity to manage their human affairs may approach or equal their powers to create change by science.

5. We must demand that our education prepare even more and better specialists in all fields of human knowledge and human interaction; and that those of us who are not specialists in an area be educated to understand and support these specialists so that the chain reaction of understanding may make use of an ever increasing proportion of our human energy to bring peace.

6. We must recognize that all of these imperatives mean a drastic change in our attitude towards education. We cannot educate towards these high essential ends with underpaid starvelings, be they school teachers, group leaders, librarians, or any other kind of educator. Instead, the educator who plays his effective role in Operations Humanity needs all that we can give him of wages, travel, freedom to learn and to teach, and that warm moist friendly emotional climate which only we citizens can create for him and without which his spirit must grow foul and sour. Only with the best of teachers can we be trained to live with science and the changes it brings, with atomic energy and whatever may come beyond.

All of these factors together can keep us to the middle road between the lunacies of men. These are the hard and patient ways of peace.

As several writers have noted, we live in both a shrinking and an expanding universe—shrinking in terms of our ability to communicate with amazing rapidity with increasing numbers of the world's millions of people; expanding in the number of matters which have to be consciously and capably dealt with if a world civilization is to continue. Sometimes we may wish we did not have such responsibilities, but when we are honest with ourselves we know that there is no alternative but to push on. Our insistence on the importance of education is strong not because of any assurance of its readiness to do the job but because there is no alternative. The faith that sustains us is the faith in the democratic way. When people are free to use knowledge, the results have always been amazing. One reads the story of the founding fathers in the fateful last quarter of the eighteenth century with awe. With all the resources at our command, can we do less?

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